a curriculum of fear

NICOLE NGUYEN

HOMELAND SECURITY
in U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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CONTENTS

Welcome to Milton High

As I did most mornings in the field, I drove up to Milton High School's faculty parking lot, passing through a barbed wire–lined chain link fence that wound its way around the school.[1] Two signs welcomed me onto Milton public school property, which rests on the edge of the Fort Milton military base in the greater D.C. area: "Warning: Restricted Area" and "This area patrolled by military working dogs." After parking, I walked to the front of the school and bound up the long set of stairs, nodding hello to two students hanging out on a blue metal bench marked with the school's logo. On my way, I noticed two police cars parked out front, one more than usual.

I knew the school's front doors would be locked, so I peered through the small windows next to the steel doors in search of a student who might open them so I could avoid buzzing the main office. Soon enough, a student pushed open one of the doors for me. After I walked in, he glanced outside for any other stragglers. I then reported directly to the main office, following the signs that asked me to do so. I maneuvered around dillydallying students who, late to class, dragged their feet even more to spite the teacher who chided them as she passed by. On my way, I found that the cheerful murals of the Capitol and Statue of Liberty brightened the school's windowless but clean hallways.

Once in the main office, I routinely handed over my driver's license to the school secretary, who scanned its barcode into her computer. Using the data attached to my driver's license, the school computer ran my name through Raptor's vSoft visitor management software, which detects registered sex offenders and those with a record of domestic violence. My presence in the school required that I submit an official form of identification and that I comply with this background check each time I entered the school.[2] While I waited for the computer to complete its scan, I turned around to sign the school logbook. I documented who

I was, when I entered the building, and where I intended to go. Looking up at the clock to record the time, I took a minute to glance at the color TV monitors displaying real-time images from the school's security cameras.

Behind me, administrator walkie-talkies buzzed with activity, calling school staff to classrooms to remove disruptive students and reminding administrators of meetings to which they were already late. Students bustled in and out of the main office in search of a late pass, a missing notebook, a friend. A parent waiting for a meeting with the principal nervously tapped her foot. I smiled. On this April morning several months into my fieldwork at Milton, the cadences of the school day felt familiar, with these scenes predictably playing out in similar fashion each time I visited the school.

Turning back, the school secretary reached out with a visitor sticker that displayed the photo from my license, my name, the date and time of my entry, and my destination. As I took the sticker, my eyes wandered to a small, telephone-like device behind the secretary. Surveillance video from a camera perched above the school's front doors circuited to this device and allowed me to watch as a parent rang the main office for entry into the school. After checking this screen, the secretary pressed a button that momentarily unlocked the front door.

Peeling off the back of my visitor badge, I pressed the sticker to my chest. Looking down, I checked that the sticker stuck and was clearly visible to the police officers and hall monitors patrolling Milton. A hall monitor had recently chastised me for not submitting to these security procedures, and so I intended to show my full compliance, at least for one day. Holding the door open for the newly arrived parent, I thanked the secretary and turned to head to the class I was set to observe that day: Foundations of Homeland Security 1, a required course for students enrolled in the public school's specialized Homeland Security program.

On that spring day, I observed ninth-grade students in the Foundations of Homeland Security 1 class discuss with their teacher "Besides death, why would a terrorist attack U.S. agriculture?" As the teacher explained to her eager students about the economics of the U.S. food supply and the deaths that could result from the movement of contaminated foods across state lines, I wondered, how did the United States

get here? What investments and social structures made this discussion about terrorism and national security[3] in a U.S. public high school not only possible but frighteningly normalized?

Opening the Doors to the National Security Industry

Having observed and interacted with mostly ninth- and tenth-grade students at Milton, my first real conversation with eleventh grader Jamal occurred when I formally interviewed him toward the end of the school year. A soft-spoken and polite Black boy with braces, Jamal enrolled in Milton's Homeland Security program in his freshman year and was on track to graduate with a geographic information systems (GIS) certification that would qualify him for entry-level map-making jobs as a GIS technician. Given his training, Jamal intended to pursue a career in the cybersecurity industry for either the government or the private sector. He was even in the process of obtaining a "top secret" security clearance for a summer internship at the National Security Agency (NSA).

In his interview, Jamal reflected on his time in Milton's Homeland Security program, tracing what he learned, the opportunities made available to him, and his new career goals:

> I came in not knowing anything about terrorism and, you know, you learn a lot of information and background on it. And also get opportunities you wouldn't really expect to get. And, okay, so, what can I do? They kind of help you with your career and even make sure your grades are on point. . . . It might be like for the government 'cause, like, GIS, I've thought about opportunities. You don't even have to work for the government. You could work for private companies. So it gives you a lot of options to think about. . . . And I'm meeting good people. For instance, internship opportunities: one of the internship opportunities I was given was for NSA. I was an intern for DISA, for the Defense Information Systems Agency, and I met some good people. . . . And, that's probably the best part of this program is you get lots of experience. You meet lots of people, high people like military generals.

In meeting "high people" through the Homeland Security program, Jamal landed a potential internship with the NSA. Like most jobs at the

NSA, Jamal's internship was contingent on passing a security clearance: a rigorous background check of both prior behavior and loyalty to the nation. Sixteen-year-old Jamal told me that he had begun the security clearance process in September and expected that it "wouldn't end until August." He went on to say that he had already "taken [his] polygraph at least three times" but that it was typical to take multiple polygraphs because "you're nervous and, you know, your heart rate is up and stuff like that." Being at the NSA for his "poly" (as some Milton students called it, using the jargon they learned from guest speakers) was a new experience for Jamal, especially because the NSA required that he answer questions without the presence of his parents: "The poly's kind of hard 'cause you're in an environment that you're alone. . . . I'm not used to that: being alone and in a work environment. But I'm getting through it."

Eleventh grader Martrez echoed Jamal, explaining that Milton's Homeland Security program not only taught him about terrorism but also "opened doors" for him as he "met a lot of NSA officers and the CEO of Dell." Martrez, for example, "went to a meeting/luncheon that had all the high corporations in there." At this event, Martrez "talked about cybersecurity and stuff like that" with these high-level national security experts. For Martrez, this experience represented how he "got to meet a lot of people" through the Homeland Security program. In fact, while Martrez "always wanted to get a job with the government," the opportunity to "see all the guest speakers that come in or the people [he] met" through the Homeland Security program "narrowed" his "career decision." By studying terrorism and learning about national security careers, Martrez now "knew" he "want[ed] to get a job in NSA, FBI, something like that." In addition, Martrez regularly "turned on the news to see what's happening," especially "if it's something really interesting like what we're talking about like terrorist attacks." Martrez applied his new national security knowledge to "be aware of what's happening around [him]" and "make certain judgments about certain people just by the way they carry themselves."

After spending many months at Milton, I found my conversations with Jamal and Martrez unsurprising. Most Milton students spoke knowledgably about the threats the United States faced, their potential careers in the national security industry, and what they needed to do to qualify for those jobs. Like Jamal and Martrez, many students ex-

pressed excited enthusiasm over their participation in the Homeland Security program and eagerly relayed to me their experiences, opportunities, and new knowledge.

While I found the national security focus of the program unsettling, spending time at Milton proved to be a pleasurable experience. The program's newly designed classes, field trips, guest speakers, and hands-on learning opportunities kept me, and the students, engaged. Jamal and Martrez's trajectory—learning about national security threats for the first time, going on field trips and meeting "high people," dreaming of a career in the security industry, and sometimes even earning coveted security clearances—mirrored the experiences of other students enrolled in Milton's Homeland Security program.

Guided by Jamal and Martrez's insights, this ethnographic book examines the social, political, and economic contexts that contributed to the program's inception, its continued popularity, and students' everyday experiences in it. This book investigates, in depth, the program's curriculum and how students like Jamal and Martrez interpreted, responded to, and used their new Homeland Security knowledge. Jamal's and Martrez's narratives are but two stories that animate what a high school education in national security entails and what it means for students, teachers, and the United States, which is the aim of this book.

Stumbling on Milton

When I initially explained to colleagues that my research looked intimately at a high school with a Homeland Security program, some expressed surprise that such a curriculum existed. Others asked how I had arrived at such a research project. Like me, they had never heard of a specialized Homeland Security program despite routinely immersing ourselves in literatures on public school reform, militarization, and national security. The program's focus on terrorism, deep imbrication with the national security industry, and absence in scholarship on U.S. public schools captured my, and my colleagues', attention. From the outset, we agreed that this emerging trend in U.S. public education required more attention.

I first learned about Franklin County Public Schools's Milton High School and its Homeland Security program through an off-the-mark Google search for articles on the mobilization of girls' education to

justify war. After a spiraling series of haphazard Internet clicks, I stumbled upon a newspaper article lauding Milton's Homeland Security program. This article framed the program as an innovative project that aligned with the region's rapidly growing national security labor needs. Milton's new program, the article reported, intended to improve the quality of education for its student body, primarily poor and working-class youth of color. To do so, Milton connected classroom learning to future national security jobs. Curious about a *public high school* with a national security–focused, work-oriented program, I read on.

In 2008, I learned, Milton High School implemented its Homeland Security program in an attempt to turn the struggling school around and revamp its reputation as an influx of middle-class families began moving into the rapidly growing area. Many of these families relocated to Franklin County to assume elite jobs in the national security industry, which experienced massive growth across the United States after September 11, 2001. Milton partnered with major defense contractors like Northrop Grumman and federal agencies like the NSA to facilitate these efforts. These public–private partnerships helped transform Milton's classes to focus on issues of national security and provided pathways to industry-related jobs. Teachers worked with these partners to connect classroom learning to national security skills, values, and jobs.

Algebra teacher Ms. Simmons, for instance, described a "power lunch" with a Northrop Grumman engineer to develop eight lesson plans related to national security. These lesson plans included applying the probability factor to determine the threat level at international airports and studying parabolas to calculate the trajectory needed for a U.S. sniper to shoot a target in North Korea. For Ms. Simmons, connecting mathematics to the national security industry showed her students "why you need to know this," thus sparking interest in her class. District administrator Mr. Arnold echoed Ms. Simmons, insisting that the Homeland Security program counteracted Milton's "discipline problems" and "improved academic improvement" by "giving kids a connection" and "a reason" to engage in the classroom. Meanwhile, industry partners lauded these curricular rewrites as an innovative way to train students for future national security jobs.

The Homeland Security program, it seemed from these brief write-ups, intended to improve underperforming Milton by engaging its stu-

dents through hands-on lessons, field trips, and guest speakers all related to national security. To do so, the school invited high-level national security experts to talk with Milton students about their daily work preventing terrorist attacks. Students attended field trips to places like a nearby international airport to learn about the security measures used to thwart terrorist hijackings. Milton students also enrolled in newly designed discussion-based and current events–driven courses like Foundations of Homeland Security 1 and National Security Intelligence. Students chose national security–related electives like Geographic Information Systems (GIS), which could credential them for entry-level work in the map-making industry. Through all of these opportunities, Milton staff provided their students with a comprehensive training in national security that prepared them for vocational jobs in the industry. Milton administrators told reporters that training students for careers through these corporatized work-based learning opportunities served as a way to bring "relevance" to education. Consequently, students who might otherwise have disengaged from school came to class excited because their learning linked directly to future national security jobs.

As I scrolled to the bottom of the newspaper article, I felt surprised. A U.S. public high school trained its students as the next generation of national security workers? I had never heard of a high school with a Homeland Security program designed to prepare poor and working-class youth of color for national security industry jobs. I knew that U.S. schools increasingly reorganized their curricula to prepare their students for work after graduation and that military-themed charter schools were proliferating in places like Chicago's South Side. I never, however, encountered a school with such a narrow focus on national security. I imagined that Milton's program was a rare anomaly. As I continued to read, though, the article mentioned that Milton crafted its program after another public high school's Homeland Security program. A few more clicks and I found that about fifteen other high schools in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, New York, and California also boasted their own formalized Homeland Security programs. In fact, I later learned through informal networks established at Milton that eleven public schools in the Mid-Atlantic region alone offered their own Homeland Security programs. In addition to these established programs, twenty-two Mid-Atlantic schools and two in Georgia planned to install programs in the coming years. Most of these schools relied on

active partnerships with the U.S. military and national security industry. Because no database catalogs these high school Homeland Security programs, more inevitably exist, especially as public high schools continue to establish their own programs.[4]

Even though these programs seemed to target students across race and class, Milton's Homeland Security program coordinator Mr. Hopkins later explained that another nearby high school designed an engineering-focused Homeland Security program "because it's more affluent." Milton, conversely, created a program with "more of a military focus," training students as future Transportation Security Administration (TSA) agents, U.S. Customs and Border Protection guards, cybersecurity technicians, and even "military grunts" rather than for the upper echelons of the national security industry. While all kinds of communities host high school Homeland Security programs, schools often slated poor and working-class youth of color for a military-style national security education while "more affluent" students enjoyed an engineering-focused program.

In addition to these formalized Homeland Security programs, the national security industry contributes to a variety of national security clubs, extracurricular activities, competitions, and college scholarships. In fact, one of Milton's industry partners, Northrop Grumman, annually invests millions of dollars in educational programs from "early grades through the university level" across the nation.[5] Totaling $26.7 million in 2013 alone,[6] this financial commitment advances the "ongoing companywide mission to ensure a pipeline of diverse talent needed for [Northrop Grumman's] future workforce."[7] Over the last few years, this major defense contractor provided significant financial support to CyberPatriot, a middle and high school cybersecurity competition, to spark student interest in the field. Northrop Grumman also gifted $135,000 to a Los Angeles charter school operator to build a Northrop Grumman Innovation Lab "where students research, design, simulate, and test their real-world projects in a state-of-the-art multimedia center."[8] This lab mimics the Northrop Grumman workplace, fostering the skills necessary to succeed within the company. Northrop Grumman also welcomes schools, including Milton, for tours of its Cybersecurity Operations Center (CSOC) in Maryland and its Center for Innovative Solutions in Virginia. Milton reported that on a field trip to the CSOC, students learned how to "prevent, detect, identify, contain,

triage, and eradicate cyber threats that occur daily . . . by individuals and national actors including Russia, Iran, Israel, India, Cuba, South Korea, North Korea, and France."

To supplement these and other programs, Northrop Grumman employees regularly visit schools across the nation. Milton tenth grader Tyrell explained that in his old neighborhood in another school district, Northrop Grumman engineers visited his elementary school once a year to discuss their work. Tyrell credited his desire to "get into engineering and work at Northrop Grumman" to these early experiences. Given these Northrop Grumman presentations, Tyrell explained that "it always seemed fun to be able to help build the aircrafts and stuff that the military uses and do other things like that." Northrop Grumman's continued presence in Tyrell's school life shaped his career aspirations. Northrop Grumman commits resources and expertise to preparing a "pipeline" of skilled workers for its labor force.

Northrop Grumman's multi-million-dollar investment in education and the increasing number of schools with formalized Homeland Security programs indicate that Milton was hardly unique. In fact, Milton seemed to point to a growing trend in public schooling. Over the last decade, the September 11 attacks (re)intensified U.S. practices of security, defense, and protection through increased militarization, surveillance, indefinite detention, and zero-tolerance policing in its domestic and foreign engagements.[9] The creation of several high school Homeland Security programs seemed to signal that this amplified focus on national security also informed U.S. school reform projects and, perhaps, everyday life in schools.

A Closer Look at a National Security School

With my curiosity piqued by Milton's program, I searched for more information on the emergence, or, rather, resurgence, of national security–themed high schools in a post-9/11 context. I came up empty-handed. Was the creep of national security into U.S. public schools unfolding so quietly and with such little resistance that it barely left a paper trail documenting its whereabouts, its constitutive parts, and its effects?

Like most news articles, the few reports I found provided only a cursory snapshot of Milton High School and its Homeland Security program. Pressing questions remained: Why did Milton adopt a Homeland

Security program? What social and economic conditions led to this decision? How did race and class contribute to how school staff came to imagine a Homeland Security program as an innovative school reform project that would increase graduation rates and address pressing issues of inequality in the community?

I wanted to know more about what a high school education in national security entailed and the impact and effects of this kind of education. What was it like to go to school at Milton? What and how did students learn in the Homeland Security program? What topics did the program cover, and how did teachers frame them? How did the program talk about terrorism, war, and national security? What vocabularies did teachers and students use? How did race or citizenship status shape who counted as a "terrorist"? How did the local resources available to Milton determine the curriculum and organize the school?

I was also interested in how Milton students, their lives lived in a post–Cold War and post-9/11 era, made sense of such a heightened focus on terror/ism: How did the continued study of terrorism shape students' understanding of the global war on terror and their role in securing the nation? How did students and school staff interpret their own security? Were they fearful? Or perhaps more confident in U.S. national security practices? I wanted to know more about the larger social, political, cultural, and emotional implications of this intense emphasis on terrorism for young people.

Guided by these questions, I realized that Milton could provide critical insight into how U.S. priorities of national security and war organize our public schools. Fears of resurgent terrorism and corporate pressures to run schools as job training sites, after all, propelled Milton to adopt this work-oriented national security project. Milton, thus, seemed like an important site to study to better understand the intensified relationship between national security and U.S. public schooling.

Taking seriously the sociological imagination's "task and promise" to "grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society,"[10] I embarked on an ethnographic case study of Milton High School. This fieldwork included observing classes, attending field trips with students, listening to guest speakers, sitting in on school meetings, interviewing and conducting focus groups with school staff and students, and living in the Milton area. I dedicated the 2012–2013 school year to learning as much as I could about Milton's hardworking

teachers invested in improving their school and the diligent students who wanted to secure their futures by preparing for the multi-billion-dollar industry thriving in their own community.

Based on this fieldwork, and rooted in political geography, sociology, and critical education studies, this book examines, in depth, the inner workings of Milton and its Homeland Security program. As the first ethnography of a U.S. public school with a specialized Homeland Security program, this book explores how synchronizing the school with the needs of the national security industry shaped young people's understandings of the world and their place in it. Moving messily between scales, this ethnography traces how Milton, by design, undertook the epistemic, political, and emotional work needed to train its students as the next generation of national security workers. By ethnographically investigating this remaking of Milton, this book documents the deep implications of these national security pedagogies on young people's psyches, social imaginaries, and daily interactions. Indeed, my own participation in Milton's Homeland Security program altered my interpretations of the world and intensified my own fears of an imminent terrorist attack. In doing so, Milton shaped how I thought about terrorism, sources of national insecurity, and the global war on terror.

Despite my experiences, school staff typically dismissed these profound political and emotional effects as distractions from the program's larger contributions. Franklin County Public Schools administrator Mr. Arnold, for example, lambasted a newspaper's critique of the program's militarizing consequences, shouting, "This is a horrifying stab at me and they did not look into what we were trying to do for children at all, for education, and for their future, and showing them the possibilities that their worlds can become. They simply looked at homeland security." Striving to improve Milton through the Homeland Security program, Mr. Arnold imagined his work as "changing the nature of education." He repudiated the newspaper's emphasis on the program's national security theme, which, from his perspective, obfuscated the benefits of Milton's hands-on, work-oriented curriculum. For Mr. Arnold, showing students the "possibilities that their worlds can become" trumped any of the militarizing effects ushered in by the national security focus.

While this ethnography investigates what Milton staff "were trying to do for children," it also takes seriously the social, political, cultural, and emotional implications of the Homeland Security program.

These effects reverberate in U.S. daily life as young people learn to interpret the world and act in it through a lens calibrated to the global war on terror. Mr. Arnold's framing of the program's benefits missed how Milton students also internalized and enacted these often violent national security norms, doctrines, and practices. As such, this book pulls taut the tensions between dominant trends in public school reform, teachers' good intentions, student enthusiasm, and the program's fear-filling emphasis on national security. This approach draws out the complexities, contributions, and contradictions of a national security schooling.

Recognizing these intricacies, this book examines the social contexts that led to Milton's installation of its Homeland Security program; the experiences of students like Jamal and Martrez; the curricular focus on preparing students to contribute to the global war on terror; and the ongoing implications of a Homeland Security program for the school, its students, and the United States. In doing so, this book investigates how Milton was not only under siege—shaped by the new normal imposed by the global war on terror—but also actively prepared for the siege itself.

The Story of a School under Siege

Drawing from my time spent immersed in daily life at the school, this book tells Milton's story in six chapters. First, chapter 1 locates Milton within national efforts to gut public education through the corporate takeover of schools, adopt militarized regimes of discipline, wage war under the banner of national security, and draw young people into the war-making business through fear. To do so, I examine the genealogies of neoliberal school reform, zero-tolerance school policies, school militarization, and fear in U.S. politics. Knitting these strands together lends itself to understanding how Milton school staff thought about the shifting purposes of education, the needs of their students, and the role of national security in their daily lives. These shifts, after all, led to the inception of Milton's Homeland Security program.

In chapter 2, I outline my methodological approach to this ethnographic project and sketch how I conducted fieldwork at Milton. Informed by my experiences in performing, strategically disclosing, and concealing my own intellectual politics while at Milton, I examine the

use of covert methods by qualitative researchers conducting overt research studies. Renewing the debates about c/overt research,[11] I investigate how all forms of overt qualitative research are always already covert in some way and what this meant for my own relationships with research participants at the school.

Anchored in this ethnographic fieldwork, chapter 3 provides insight into Milton's local community and its history. I then trace the origins of the school's Homeland Security program, focusing specifically on earlier school reform efforts aimed at preparing poor and working-class youth of color for the technical workforce. I document how, over time, Milton narrowed its focus to issues of, and jobs related to, national security. In this historical excavation, I detail how Milton's racialized and classed context shaped how school staff and administrators imagined how to improve the school and the kinds of educational opportunities they should offer their students.

After tracing the social forces that gave rise to the Homeland Security program, in chapter 4, I look in depth at Milton's intricate curriculum. I investigate how the Homeland Security program centered specific forms of national insecurity by exploring topics like agroterrorism, bioterrorism, chemical warfare, and cybersecurity. In examining these threats, Milton students came to imagine the United States as utterly vulnerable to terrorist attacks that could come from anywhere at any time. The program, in turn, taught students to privilege a militarized response to help mitigate these threats and to celebrate military solutions to social problems. In doing so, Milton affirmed militarized masculinities marked by a valorization of weaponry knowledge and glorification of violence. Through ethnographic insight into Milton's Homeland Security classes, this chapter illustrates how military values and national security priorities inflected the norms and practices that shaped everyday life in Milton's Homeland Security program.

Given this curriculum, chapter 5 looks intimately at the profound effects of an education focused so intensely on terrorism. I plot Milton's emotional terrain, paying careful attention to how the Homeland Security program shaped student fears. Within a racialized economy of fear "made familiar by decades of Cold War nuclear culture," students learned to identify and respond to "suspicious" people who could carry out a catastrophic attack.[12] Fearful of an impending attack on their

school or community, students and school staff calibrated their conduct to ward off danger, manage their fears, and express their love for the nation. In producing and channeling these fearful energies, Milton called on its students to contribute to the daily operations of the global war on terror, whether as vigilant citizens, national security workers, or soldiers.

In the Conclusion, I offer some final thoughts on the enduring relationship between education, war, and national security at work at Milton High School. I revisit daily life at the school and the cultural contours of the Homeland Security program. In this critical summary, I detail the dangers of reengineering U.S. public schools based on global war on terror investments and priorities of national security. In doing so, I plot entry points aimed at resisting the growth of high school Homeland Security programs and creating alternative school reform initiatives.

Together, this provocative ethnography provides critical insight into everyday life at Milton and its Homeland Security program.[13] It examines how we, as a nation, arrived at a moment in which well-intended teachers, and the broader U.S. public, consider a national security schooling an "innovative" school reform project. By traveling through daily life at Milton, this book traces the symbiotic relationship between national security and public schooling, urgently detailing the need to reimagine, and disarm, institutions of education charged with preparing young people for the global war on terror.

Teaching War and Feeling Fear

*Public School Reform during
the Global War on Terror*

If you ask a policy maker, teacher, or school administrator about U.S. public school reform, chances are she'll mention charter schools, class size, the Common Core, standardized testing, teachers' unions, No Child Left Behind, or merit-based pay. A teacher might laud the continued reliance on zero-tolerance disciplinary strategies used to prevent both minor incidents and major school shootings. School administrators might celebrate the conversion of struggling public schools into military academies as a way to instill discipline in non-dominant youth. Politicians might demonize teachers' unions as bulwarks to school improvement and protectors of lazy teachers. Fingers often point to parents, cast in these conversations as unconcerned with their children's education and thus to blame for the failure of public education. "Turnaround" school CEOs might suggest that the lack of competition between schools, particularly in urban communities, breeds complacency. For these folks, fashioning an "educational marketplace" with charter schools, military academies, and published school data drives up competition and produces a more efficient school system. Yet others argue that these policies exacerbate social inequality, unfairly blame parents and teachers, and fail to address structural barriers to student success like poverty and unequal school funding. Buzzwords like *neoliberalism, audit culture,* and the *school-to-prison pipeline* often dot these heated conversations.

In today's political climate, most people, regardless of their credentials or experience in schools, have something to say about how to fix public education. Many eagerly join the chorus of interlocutors arguing for more discipline, more school choice, and more alternative vocational or military programs for students who seem less interested in or less able to "do" school. These narratives currently dominate national conversations about how to improve the dire conditions of U.S. public

schools. Such conversations, and resistance to them, necessarily shape how we imagine the perceived educational crisis and circumscribe how we think about solutions to these problems.

Like all who engage these debates, Milton school staff drew from these prevailing narratives to make sense of how to improve their school. Wanting to tackle racial tensions, the school's long-standing struggles with academic achievement, and the influx of families moving to the area, school officials and national security experts devised a school improvement plan to mobilize community resources and expertise. To do so, Milton staff reached for readily available school reform models and national security narratives to develop a school improvement plan they felt suited the needs of their students and the local community.

Indeed, I read Milton teachers and administrators as deeply concerned about the success of their students both in school and after graduation. Having worked in schools prior to my fieldwork, I related to teachers' negotiations in the classroom as they made do with limited resources and followed administrative policies with which they might not agree. Given the intense pressures to meet standardized metrics irrespective of the social contexts of schooling, I understood how easy it was to be pulled, even subsumed, by dominant discourses that might run counter to a teacher's own intellectual politics. When informally chatting with teachers, for instance, I often easily, and problematically, fell into talking about students from a deficit perspective, a perspective that defines poor students of color as problems, blames them for the failure of their schools, and ignores the structural inequalities that limit their access to and success in schools. Participation in this deficit discourse included trading my own horror stories with teachers about impossible students and jarring fights that served as red badges of courage. Teachers and I also lamented the bureaucratic nightmare of working in large public high schools. We let off steam over administrators who never seemed to support teachers adequately and central offices staff who seemed so out of touch with daily life in the classroom.

As I got to know Milton teachers, I recognized how hard they worked to create rich educational opportunities for their students. Similarly, I observed students thoughtfully making decisions about their education and future careers in the national security industry. I documented how teachers viewed the Homeland Security program as a positive interven-

tion to improve the school and how students believed this career-driven training would help them earn a job after graduation.

At the same time, the militarized focus of Milton's curriculum, its fixation on issues of national security, and the heavy emphasis on job training worried me. I questioned the myopic preoccupation with national security, particularly as students expressed deep fears about terrorism. The logics and ideas the program propagated and the militarized practices it encouraged concerned me. Like the deficit discourse, narratives about school reform, national security, and the military shaped Milton teachers' and students' beliefs about the role of public schooling. These governing narratives influenced the decisions teachers made and how they interpreted the needs of their students.

As a qualitative researcher at Milton, I needed to pay attention to how people's negotiations with these discourses structured their everyday work in classrooms, including the texts teachers chose, the expectations administrators held, and the roles students performed. As feminist philosopher Judith Butler reminds us, "our acts are not self-generated, but conditioned. We are at once acted upon and acting, and our 'responsibility' lies in the juncture between the two. What can I do with the conditions that form me? What do they constrain me to do? What can I do to transform them?"[1] This book attempts to mediate this "juncture" between being "acted upon and acting": I explore how Milton school staff carefully made decisions about how to improve the school and investigate how students thought about their education in ways both circumscribed and enabled by these governing discourses and social contexts. As such, this chapter situates Milton and its Homeland Security program in relation to the widely circulating narratives that drive current iterations of school reform.

Public Schools as Sites of Corporate Profit

Today's trends in U.S. school reform increasingly emphasize market choice, competition, and accountability. These trends pressure communities to privatize their schools by placing school control in the hands of corporations, running schools like businesses, and creating an educational marketplace where families "shop" around for the best school. In this context, alternatives like privately operated but publicly funded charter schools appear attractive to families whose children

would otherwise attend struggling schools subjected to ongoing dis-investment and unequal funding. Schools submit to these reform plans in a concerted effort to improve the quality of education available to children.

Critical scholars, economists, and news pundits alike refer to the process of converting public institutions like schools and hospitals into profitable corporate entities as neoliberalization. Broadly, neoliberal-ism refers to an ideology that advocates the privatization of the public sector and encourages its version of free trade and open markets. As both a political economic model and a form of governance, neoliberal-ism is a "contextually contingent articulation of free market govern-mental practices with varied and often quite illiberal forms of social and political rule."[2]

As an economic model, neoliberalism proposes that cultivating un-regulated markets creates the optimal conditions for unfettered eco-nomic growth and capitalist expansion while limiting wasteful social spending. Rather than invest in social safety nets, the state retreats from its responsibilities to the public sector and instead focuses its energies on creating new, and profitable, markets. As a form of governance, neo-liberalism installs a new social imaginary that values competitive indi-vidualism over social responsibility and redefines democracy as market choice.[3] Through the "infiltration of market-driven truths and calcula-tions," neoliberalism urges people to act according to market principles of individual responsibility, efficiency, and competitiveness.[4]

To cultivate capitalist expansion, neoliberal policies destroy cur-rent institutional arrangements and create a "new infrastructure for market-oriented growth, commodification, and the rule of capital."[5] Critics refer to this path-dependent and context-specific priming of communities for capitalist expansion and profitability as *creative de-struction.*[6] Destroying the U.S. public school system, for instance, facili-tates the creation of a new school infrastructure (corporate-run charter schools) calibrated to the rule of capital. This process transforms edu-cation from a public good to a capitalist enterprise.

Chicago, for example, shuttered forty-nine public schools serving poor communities of color while opening thirty-three publicly funded but privately operated charter schools.[7] The city justified these school closures by framing charter schools as efficient, accountable, and com-petitive alternatives to putatively "failing" public schools. These neo-

liberal discourses, however, obfuscate the structural processes that produce school failure, including decades of public disinvestment, economic instability, delayed school renovations, grossly inequitable school funding schemes, racist pedagogies, and persistent racial segregation. In addition, charter schools often impose selective enrollment policies that "largely exclude neighborhood children" from poor and working-class communities of color.[8]

Razing Chicago's public schools through neoliberal policies also placed power in the hands of corporations and amassed corporate wealth. Dubbing Chicago's wealthy entrepreneurs and venture philanthropists the "new lords of urban education," education scholar Pauline Lipman baldly states, "Charter schools are big business."[9] School privatization "make[s] white entrepreneurs the beneficiaries of public resources intended for Black students and teachers" and thus "represents 'reforms' that foster accumulation by dispossession."[10] Neoliberal policies serve the interests of wealthy entrepreneurs and white, middle-class children.

In addition to the corporate takeover of public schools, the neoliberal state encourages school systems to build their own "educational marketplace" infused with multiple school options for families beyond their neighborhood schools. To do so, school districts create magnet programs, establish charter schools, provide school vouchers for private schools, and install provisions for children to attend other schools if their neighborhood school is marked "persistently low achieving." School rankings, school report cards, and publicized standardized test scores help parents navigate this market while ushering in an audit culture that constantly monitors and evaluates teacher and student performance according to standardized metrics. In this context, families "shop" for the best school. Following market logics, neoliberal proponents argue that generating alternative school choice options for families injects competition into the school system and, subsequently, pressures schools to gain a competitive edge by improving their test scores.

Although school reformers use a language of school choice to justify the creation of this educational marketplace, only the savviest consumers, who can navigate this market, perform well on standardized test scores, and provide the financial resources (including transportation) necessary to attend different schools, benefit. Alex Means's ethnography

of Chicago's Carter High School (CHS), for example, found that the creation of dozens of profitable charter schools with selective enrollment policies contributed to "sorting the most disadvantaged [students] into a bottom rung of disinvested public schools like CHS."[11] In fact, CHS teachers referred to their school as a "dumping ground" for students who failed to gain admittance into the city's new charter schools.[12] Although all families could "choose" to attend new charter schools, only a handful of poor students of color qualified for enrollment.

While neoliberal proponents argue that school choice fosters equity, increasing research reveals how these policies, by design, trap poor and working-class students of color in failing schools while their white and middle-class counterparts enjoy access to well-resourced schools.[13] As Michelle Fine and Jessica Ruglis so powerfully document, it is this "sturdy neoliberal policy matrix that reliably produces cumulative disadvantage for youth of color and academic water wings for most young people who are White, especially if they are wealthy."[14] Neoliberal school reform policies often exacerbate social inequalities.

Despite research that documents these magnified inequalities, neoliberal principles of market choice and competition dominate the school reform landscape. Drawing from these neoliberal logics, for example, administrators at Franklin County Public Schools (FCPS) worked hard to create an educational marketplace with various "programs of choice." As a part of these efforts, the district designed magnet programs in some of its "high-poverty schools" as a way to "attract a caliber of students that may not be within that community."[15] Students who scored well on standardized tests could apply to and, if accepted, enroll in high-level magnet programs housed in schools outside of their community. This is one way underresourced schools attract high-performing students from other schools.

Yet FCPS also worried that magnet programs hosted by better-performing schools would pull "strong students" away from struggling schools like Milton. By exclusively serving Milton students, district administrator Mr. Arnold explained that the Homeland Security program worked as a "counterbalance" to these magnet programs by convincing "kids who may want to leave Milton to find some magnet somewhere else" that "there's this really cool program here for you. You don't necessarily have to leave." The Homeland Security program incentivized high-performing students to stay at Milton.

Despite the program's function as a "counterbalance" to retain high-performing students, Milton sought to improve the academic achievement of its "middle-of-the-road student" in danger of dropping out of school. Although Milton relied on neoliberal logics to build these programs of choice, the school also worked across the neoliberal grain to improve the educational opportunities available to all students, not just those who performed well on tests or knew how to navigate the educational marketplace. The district deliberately worked to mitigate the social inequalities typically exacerbated by neoliberal policies.

Responding to neoliberal calls to realign the purpose of education with the global economy, Milton redesigned its curriculum to train its poor and working-class youth of color for vocational work in the national security industry. As such, the school focused on building "strong partnerships" with the industry to develop and implement its Homeland Security program. While these public–private partnerships provided the school with additional expertise and resources, they also infused corporate interests into Milton. In fact, the school synchronized its curriculum with the skills valued by the industry. Milton teachers and students welcomed this new program, enthusiastically dubbed the "vo-tech of the 21st century."

Taking seriously how neoliberal logics shape educational policy, this book explores how Milton school staff came to imagine a Homeland Security program as an effective school improvement project for its poor and working-class youth of color.[16] Indeed, neoliberalism plays a powerful role in the remaking of U.S. public schools. In fact, academic scholarship often centers neoliberalism as a way to make sense of struggles over public school reform. Yet anthropologist Stephen Collier importantly asks, "Should neoliberalism be analyzed as a 'big Leviathan'—a macro-structure or explanatory background against which other things are understood? Or should we rather analyze neoliberalism as though it were the same size as other things, and its trace associations with them?"[17] Here Collier questions whether neoliberalism should serve as the main framework we use to interpret, analyze, and make sense of the world. Responding to Collier's incisive question, this book analyzes neoliberalism as though it were the same size as other things, trafficking at the dynamic intersections of racism, heteropatriarchy, and colonialism.

From Schoolhouse to Jailhouse

Despite the post–World War II economic boom inflected by redistributive urban policies used to alleviate poverty, the 1960s witnessed the drastic economic depletion of U.S. cities as a result of rapid deindustrialization, offshoring of manufacturing industries, and proliferation of the service industry. During this economic turmoil, the United States increasingly installed punitive policies to combat rising street violence stemming from stark economic conditions. These policies required longer prison sentences for minor offenses, intensified drug laws, and amplified the incarceration of nonviolent offenders.

The United States bolstered these aggressive measures as neoliberal policies ushered in the economic crisis of the 1970s. As these policies ravaged city economies, unemployment grew, wages plummeted, drug trade flourished, homelessness escalated, and street violence accelerated.[18] Rather than address the policies that gave rise to these social conditions, policy makers attacked poor communities as lazy and insolent, claims fortified by "culture of poverty" studies that blamed poor people for their poverty.[19] Instead of investing in social safety nets, cities turned to "order maintenance policing" that targeted low-level quality-of-life crimes like public urination and panhandling, thereby criminalizing poverty and homelessness. New York City's Mayor Giuliani argued that reducing visible crime through incarceration would revitalize the city.[20] Having effectively pushed poor people of color out of the city and into prisons, these policies earned public approval as New York City appeared safer, more attractive, and financially thriving, at least for the white middle class.

These quality-of-life policies drew directly from the broken windows theory. This theory contends that cities must aggressively police small acts of vandalism and other minor forms of urban disorder like graffiti or public urination to reduce crime.[21] Supporters of broken windows policing suggest that these small infractions quickly escalate because, like broken windows, they signal to community members a lack of social control and policing. This, in turn, leads to criminals quickly overrunning these communities and, eventually, entire cities. To prevent escalation, cities must heavily police and harshly discipline these small instances of social disorder rather than address the underlying social and economic conditions.[22]

Applied to schools, broken windows–based zero-tolerance policies target minor infractions to prevent escalation and show students that police dominate school hallways. In this punitive regime, school adults fear that small acts of "disorderly conduct" will signal to students that school space is ungoverned and will thus lead to more serious incidents of misbehavior. Wanting to avoid the escalation of student disorder, school staff and policy makers insist that these minor violations must be severely punished through daily reprimands, humiliations, loss of privileges, and referrals to the juvenile justice system.[23]

New York City Public Schools, for example, installed a new safety plan called Operation Impact Schools in 2008. Based on its ruthless predecessor Operation Impact, used to "clean up" New York's streets, Operation Impact Schools deployed two hundred armed police officers to twelve schools with the highest rates of violence. Dispatching large numbers of police officers into these "dirty dozen" schools allowed the district to "crack[] down on even minor incidents of disorderly behavior and quickly punish[] those who repeatedly violate[d] the rules."[24] In addition, like city residents incarcerated for three violations, New York City school discipline policies banished students with three infractions to "off-site suspension centers," "second opportunity schools," or juvenile detention facilities.[25] These approaches to school safety pathologized youth of color as criminals while ignoring how overcrowding in New York schools often provoked the very school violence Operation Impact Schools sought to combat.[26] Instead of addressing this, and other, root causes of school fights, Operation Impact Schools simply pushed students out of school and into the juvenile justice system.

Kathleen Nolan's ethnography of a Bronx school similarly revealed how public schools apply the broken windows theory to maintain control.[27] At this school, teachers relied on harsh sanctions for minor infractions of school rules, often ambiguously referred to as "disorderly conduct." Disorderly conduct included loitering in the hallways, chewing gum, using a cell phone in class, listening to music while working, truancy, tardiness, and dress code violations. As Nolan combed through the school's documentation of student referrals, she found that vague reports of a "student's display of 'irate,' 'subordinate,' 'disrespectful,' 'uncooperative,' or 'uncontrollable' behavior" served as enough justification to issue a court summons or arrest the student.[28] In fact,

56 percent of all student incidents at this school resulted in a court summons or arrest, even for minor or unidentified offenses. The school targeted minor infractions for harsh punishments.

Like order maintenance policing, these punitive school policies have "distinct demographics."[29] These policies, by design, disproportionately target youth of color, students with disabilities, girls of color, queer and transgender youth, and poor and working-class students.[30] Moreover, these strict sanctions install a punitive disciplinary regime in schools that deny young people dignity, treat them like criminals rather than students, and enforce a carceral approach to school discipline.

As Milton administrators struggled to "regain control"[31] of the school during its "notorious late-'90s era," they turned to similar punitive policies. As an influx of students of color began attending Milton, the community described the school and its students as "out of control," dangerous, and violent. In response, the school deployed police officers and military police into its hallways. The district endowed "no-nonsense" principal Jenny Snyder with "far-ranging powers" to suspend and expel any Milton student for any offense. Milton, in other words, borrowed the aggressive quality-of-life crimes used to "clean up" cities to "clean up" the school. These disciplinary strategies complemented the school's efforts to gain competitive advantage in the district's educational marketplace through its installation of the Homeland Security program. Following dominant trends in school discipline practices, Milton turned to similar measures in a punitively oriented effort to improve the culture of the school.

Although it is important to document the punitive culture of control in schools, political geographers Deb Cowen and Neil Smith caution that "a simple focus on the *amount* of security misses critical questions regarding its *shifting forms*."[32] Critical education studies cannot preoccupy itself *only* with the intensification of these discipline policies or the rise in the school-to-prison pipeline. Scholars, school staff, and policy makers must take seriously the ever-dynamic mechanisms, practices, and forms of in/security unfolding in everyday life in schools. For Milton, a military and national security training complemented more traditional disciplinary regimes. The promise of a career in the security industry, dependent on a security clearance that required a "clean" background, served as a novel disciplinary tool used to encourage students to behave in particular ways while in school. As such, this

book examines how Milton's Homeland Security program created new forms of discipline in addition to these more traditional practices at the school.

Militarizing the Schoolyard

The rapid intensification of zero-tolerance policing in schools reflects the broader militarization of U.S. society, a process that seeks to restructure all aspects of social life around a military agenda. Historian Michael Geyer defines *militarization* as "the contradictory and tense social process in which civil society organizes itself for the production of violence."[33] Militarization synchronizes labor, fiscal resources, expertise, social structures, and political institutions with military exigencies. As a "multi-tracked process by which the roots of militarism are driven deep into the soil of a society," militarization also reorders prevailing social imaginaries, ideals, gender norms, and emotions for the production of violence.[34] Militarization, thus, funnels cultural, political, and economic energies toward preparations for war, remaking all aspects of social life.[35]

U.S. public schools serve as an important site used to propagate military knowledges, prepare youth for military operations, and legitimize war. Through partnerships with the formal military institution, schools alter their curricula, culture, and policies for the production of violence. These partnerships infuse military beliefs, behaviors, and sentiments into school space.

Schools, for example, increasingly encourage young people to join the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC), a program that dates back to the National Defense Act of 1916. Partially funded by the U.S. Department of Defense, JROTC is a military-themed character development program that trains young people as future military officers. As a part of their public school experience, JROTC students wear military uniforms to class, undergo military dress inspections, participate in military physical training, and learn military history and skills from military instructors. Like the formal military, this training "demands a suppression of individual difference and exacts a conformity in all outward actions and dress."[36] The military training JROTC cadets undergo works to erase racial, cultural, and gendered differences to build a common military identity.

JROTC proponents suggest that this military training uplifts poor and working-class youth of color, who seem to lack discipline and direction. JROTC programs and military recruiters also pursue white rural youth through the "rural/military nexus."[37] Uneven economic development and small-town pride that equates "authentic" patriotism with military service contribute to this rural–military nexus. Justified under the rubric of upward mobility, moral uplift, and national service, JROTC programs propagate military norms, habits, and knowledges.

Following these logics, a growing number of public schools, including charter schools, have installed newly designed military academies that are often funded, at least partially, by the U.S. Department of Defense.[38] These high school military academies often require that students wear military uniforms, incorporate military leaders into daily school life, teach military history, and mandate that students participate in the JROTC. These programs, and their popularity, rest on the racialized and classed assumption that non-dominant youth require military-style discipline to succeed.

Although Milton students celebrated their preparation for national security jobs, not all youth enroll in these academies for their military or national security training. In Chicago, families often choose military-style schools because their children do not qualify for other selective-enrollment charter schools. Public military academies are often the safest and most rigorous option available to families in communities facing prolonged public disinvestment and economic instability.[39] These economic conditions and selective enrolment policies force parents to "choose" military schools among the limited choices available to them, even if they disagree with or have no interest in their children participating in military exercises. Parents make strategic decisions about the schools their children will attend, but structural barriers often limit their choices.[40]

Mirroring the racialized and classed logics used to popularize JROTC programs, the Department of Defense launched a science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) youth program called STARBASE in 1991. STARBASE is a "youth outreach program for raising the interest in learning and improving the knowledge and skills of our nation's at risk youth so that we may develop a highly educated and skilled American workforce who can meet the advance technological requirements of the Department of Defense." To do so, STARBASE provides fourth-

grade students with "25 hours of stimulating experiences at National Guard, Navy, Marine, Air Force Reserve, Army and Air Force bases across the nation." On these military bases, "military volunteers apply abstract principles to real world situations by leading tours and giving lectures on the use of STEM in different settings and careers." Through STARBASE, more than 545,000 "at-risk" children developed relationships with military mentors and engaged in hands-on instruction on military bases. Uplifting "at-risk" youth and advancing STEM education related to Department of Defense needs serve as justifications for STARBASE.[41] Once again, racialized and classed assumptions about "at-risk" youth authorize the funneling of children into military programs rather than rich educational environments.

The Department of Defense program also funds a program called Troops to Teachers. Troops to Teachers provides pathways for returning soldiers to begin new careers as teachers in public schools, "where their skills, knowledge, and experience are most needed."[42] Military soldiers apply to earn a teaching certification and commit to teaching in a "high-needs" school for three years. According to the Troops to Teachers website, more than six thousand military members transitioned into public school teaching upon return from combat. Public schools view this deployment of military leaders as a necessary measure to instill discipline in students marked as unruly and to promote military enlistment as a way to gain financial security.

In addition to this presence of military leaders, military recruiters have long penetrated school space. Today, No Child Left Behind "mandates that public schools receiving federal funding provide military recruiters with personal information about each high school student, such as names, addresses, and telephone numbers."[43] Authorized by No Child Left Behind, military recruiters set up tables in school cafeterias, give doughnuts to office staff who provide access to the school, offer free gifts to students, downplay the risks of military enlistment while glamorizing war, and insist that military service provides financial security.[44] Given the pressing search for more conscripted bodies, recruiters even focus on convincing "plump chickens"—popular students—to enlist to entice more students to join the military.[45] These examples illustrate how schools serve as lush military recruiting grounds as military personnel seek bodies to fill their ranks.

Although critical education scholars often link this militarization of

schools with the recent rise of neoliberal restructuring,[46] the relationship between the military and public schools dates back to the early 1900s. A 1925 article printed in *Literary Digest,* for example, pointedly asked, "Are schools being militarized?" This article responded to the early popularization of military training in schools, most readily apparent in the 1916 authorization of the National Defense Act, which established JROTC units in public high schools. With the onset of World War I, military training specifically targeted the influx immigrants as a way to "heat up the melting pot" and protect white, middle-class youth from enlistment.[47] During the 1992 Los Angeles race riots, Joint Chief of Staff General Colin Powell called for a recommitment to the JROTC. The JROTC, Powell argued, would quell social unrest by teaching urban children respect for authority and discipline.[48] Military training, then and now, serves social, cultural, economic, and military agendas: military regimenting and uniformity of dress, habits, and duty to nation work to assimilate immigrants and youth of color while filling the U.S. military with eager soldiers.

In fact, like the vocational education programs that came before it, "military training had ideological utilities that allowed it to survive despite its acknowledged failure to train students for a post-schooling job."[49] Although military training in high schools failed to prepare students adequately for war, the social conditioning of immigrants and youth of color authorized the JROTC's growing presence in schools. Military values and agendas infused with racialized and classed logics weave in and out of schools and society, texturing the social fabric of people's daily lives beyond discrete military engagements.

These examples of school militarization provide brief insight into how the formal military institution reconfigures school culture and curriculum through the intrusion of military programs, leaders, norms, doctrines, and practices. These, and other, creative institutional arrangements, policies, and strategies work to synchronize schools with military exigencies.

Despite the importance of the U.S. military, many other actors participate in the waging of war and remaking of schools, including defense contractors, national security companies, governmental organizations, and weapons suppliers. "Militarization" cannot fully account for the breadth of these actors who contribute to wars fought on multiple fronts, from the front lines of Fallujah to the U.S.–Mexican border-

lands to U.S. airports to the cyberdomain trafficked worldwide. As an alternative conceptual frame, *securitization* can address these short-comings of militarization. This term acknowledges the multiple agents, sites, and scales that organize for, and are organized by, the securing of both "material and discursive borders."[50] The United States, for example, deploys police and immigration officials to protect the U.S.–Mexican borderlands. Whereas *militarization* captures the role of the military in securing the border, *securitization* acknowledges the other actors (U.S. Border Patrol) and sites (the borderlands) engaged in this global war on terror project. Interpreted in this way, *militarization* is a constitutive element of broader *securitizing* forces.

This formulation of securitization departs from how critical education scholar Ken Saltman employs *securitized* to describe the "enforcement of corporate economic imperatives and in relation to a rising culture of 'law and order.'"[51] Using the vocabularies of the financial industry, Saltman offers that educational policy's efforts to amass corporate wealth and repress dissent subject "securitized students" to coercive punishments, treat them as investment opportunities and commodities, and train them as future soldiers.[52] These processes, of course, contribute to ongoing investments in the global war on terror.

My use of securitized schooling emphasizes the realigning of public education for war not only through institutional arrangements with the formal military institution but also with federal agencies (NSA), private defense contractors (Northrop Grumman), security corporations (Regal Decision Systems Inc.), and other interested parties (gas and electric companies). Although the formal military institution and neoliberal context certainly shaped much of what happened at Milton, other security-oriented institutions, social actors, norms, and doctrines participated in the school's remaking in the shadow of the global war on terror. "Militarized education," thus, must be broadened to "securitized education." This reconceptualization accounts for these new educational arrangements, partnerships, and practices that include, but also extend beyond, the formal military institution and contribute to multiple permutations of the global war on terror, not just on the formal battlefield. Reading Milton as a *securitized* school pushes scholars to rethink and reimagine the multifarious ways that schools organize around and assemble for war.

National Security Education from the Cold War to the Global War on Terror

Although Milton's Homeland Security program represents a new form of securitized schooling, I soon realized that forming strategic partnerships between schools and the national security industry to meet the needs of the global war on terror was by no means a new, post-9/11 process. As such, if I wanted to understand Milton's Homeland Security program, I first needed to excavate the historical legislative policies, financial commitments, and institutional arrangements that laid the financial, intellectual, and social groundwork for the rise of high school Homeland Security programs. As I processed this history, I recognized that programs like Milton's augmented and sometimes intersected with the ongoing drive to incorporate the formal military institution into U.S. schools. These histories overlap and inform one another. I offer a brief snapshot of this securitized school history to provide context for the emergence of Milton's Homeland Security program.

THE COLD WAR'S IMPACT ON EDUCATION

A quick survey of this complex history immediately pointed me to President Eisenhower's 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA). Cold War anxieties, heightened by the 1957 Soviet launch of Sputnik, prompted President Eisenhower's passage of the NDEA. Responding to Cold War concerns, the NDEA focused on funding college students in the areas of foreign languages, regional studies, and science so that young people could contribute to Cold War efforts.[53] Congress eagerly welcomed the NDEA, arguing that "the defense of this Nation depends upon the mastery of modern techniques developed from complex scientific principles." The "security of the Nation," Congress continued, "requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women."[54] In a time of national fear about an imminent, if not inevitable, nuclear war, the nation's security seemed to rest on the U.S. educational system's ability to churn out innovative workers who could advance science for the purposes of (nuclear) war or linguists who could contribute to Cold War intelligence programs. Cold War pressures compelled U.S. schools to organize around these national security needs by strategically funding students to undertake particular areas of study.

At first, I imagined the 1958 passage of the NDEA as a watershed

moment for the alignment of education with the needs of U.S. civil defense, war, and foreign policy efforts. Yet I quickly learned that the NDEA merely bolstered a trend already under way in the United States: the onset of World War II enticed universities to partner with federal agencies and private defense contractors to develop war capabilities. By the end of World War II, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), for instance, served as "America's largest university defense contractor, and it fought for that position throughout the Cold War."[55] MIT president Karl Compton spearheaded this initiative as he insisted on pairing university research with "national service" to innovate U.S. weapons of war. World War II legitimized "the coupling of scientific and social scientific knowledge to national interest expressed militarily, a relationship that extended into the Cold War" and fed what William Fulbright called the military–industrial–academic complex.[56] Through these initiatives, U.S. universities and their faculty worked to contribute to the war machine by developing weapons, designing more deadly bullets, training linguists, and advancing scientific knowledge related to military operations. These institutions invested in and developed scientific advancements useful to the military, a trend that emerged during World War II and intensified with the onset of the Cold War.

Mid-century priorities of national defense and the military not only transformed the relationship between schools and the government; they also altered the kind of knowledge academics and students focused on producing and disseminating. Through strategic investments in national defense, the military and sciences merged through what sociologist Andrew Pickering refers to as a "mangling" of disciplines.[57] This meant that "what had been largely separate and autonomous institutions before World War II—science and the military—had been profoundly transformed and locked together as a complex, social, material, and conceptual cyborg entity by the end of it."[58] Donna Haraway calls this dynamic hybrid science–technology–industry–military fusion "technoscience."[59] This "cyborg regime of technoscience" emerged from the World War and Cold War eras and "shaped within a peculiar institutional permutation—the military-industrial-academic complex— that directly or indirectly promoted an American geopolitical agenda." During the post–World War II era, the United States witnessed "much mangling of the military, sciences, and the academy, along with pieces of technology, techniques, and vocabularies" that fused into "novel

combinations."[60] These technoscientific combinations were difficult to resist given the involvement of such powerful actors and resources. World War II initiated a peculiar but enduring fruitful coupling of the military and university, a regime revivified by the onset of the Cold War and renewed once again with the arrival of the global war on terror.

Yet what did this "mangling" look like in practice? In my search for specific examples, I learned about a 1950s program called Project Revere, an initiative created through a partnership between the U.S. Air Force, the CIA, and the University of Washington. Led by University of Washington academic Stuart Dodd, Project Revere served as a "psychological warfare experience" designed to offer "rational, scientific insight into how and why certain modes of propaganda are more effective than others."[61] Project Revere "sought to investigate how the seemingly humble information leaflet could be deployed, via air drops, as a 'flexible weapon' to spark 'interpersonal communications' and spread rumors throughout particular target populations" during times of war.[62] Project Revere used both university facilities and faculty to develop a better understanding of leaflet dropping, a useful tool to warn the masses of an impending enemy attack and spread war propaganda. The United States continues to rely on leafleting, dropping paper messages from airplanes throughout Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine.[63]

Research on Project Revere pointed me to other similar university partnerships, signaling that the University of Washington's incorporation of the war effort into its institution through federal partnerships was hardly an exceptional case. The University of California (UC), for instance, began managing two institutes dedicated to research related to nuclear weapons development: the New Mexico–based Los Alamos National Laboratory, founded in 1943, and the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, which opened in 1952. Home of the then-secret Manhattan Project, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers–run Los Alamos National Laboratory contracted UC to manage the lab when it first opened. This relationship persisted until 2006. Similarly, some sixty years after its inception, the university's partnership with Livermore, a "premier research and development institution for science and technology applied to national security," remains in place today.[64] This ongoing partnership continues the university's commitment to research directly related to issues of national security. In fact, Livermore still enlists UC faculty members and students to perform much of the neces-

sary intellectual and administrative labor needed to advance nuclear weaponry and to "anticipate[], innovate[], and deliver[] solutions for the nation's most challenging security problems."[65] Through its mid-twentieth-century partnerships with Livermore and Los Alamos, UC joined other universities invested in the nuclear arms race, including the Defense and Arms Control Studies program at MIT and the Center for International Security and Arms Control at Stanford University.[66] At the university level, these partnerships solidified the funding structures and research priorities that continue today.

Although most scholarship on the Cold War focuses on higher education, elementary schools also organized around civil defense initiatives. In fact, the *Elementary School Journal,* an academic journal dedicated to work on educational theory and its implications for teaching, published articles on the Cold War role of elementary schools. In a 1954 issue, for example, James Ridgway effused, "At a time when we are possibly faced with new and great dangers, schools, which have the nation's most cherished possession in-trusted to them, should be among the first institutions to face the problems involved and to work toward solving them."[67] Schools, thus, needed to act as bomb shelters; train students by "drumming in" the "protective routines" used to avoid "inaction," "freezing," and "panic" in the event of a nuclear attack; "maintain pupil morale"; and harness the psychologically proven finding that children "[take] attacks in stride" and can "stand[] up in crisis conditions."[68] Just a year earlier, the Federal Civil Defense Administration's Clara McMahon advised in the same journal, "Any threat to our national security makes it imperative that the schools intensify their efforts to accomplish their goals, while assuming the additional responsibility of adjusting their curriculum to develop in the pupils the qualities and characteristics needed in such an emergency."[69] Similarly, in a 1952 issue of *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues, and Ideas,* William N. McGowan wrote a manifesto titled "Civil Defense: The Public Schools' Role." This manifesto called on public schools to attend to the "practical necessity this nation faces, to be prepared."[70] In all of these education trade journals, authors urged school staff to synchronize their schools, classrooms, and curricula with national security, or civil defense, goals. Milton's Homeland Security harkens back to these calls, especially as school administrators began creating a "kindergarten to career pipeline" aimed at preparing children "at the earliest possible age" for the

national security industry. To do so, K–12 public schools today rely on funding and institutional arrangements similar to those originally fashioned during the Cold War.

The end of the Cold War did not lead to the abandonment of national defense–oriented education or to marriages between schools and the national security industry. In fact, following in the footsteps of the NDEA, Congress passed the 1991 National Security Education Act. This act, in part, created the National Security Education Program (NSEP). Through nine different initiatives like the Boren Fellowship, the NSEP funds scholarships for both graduate and undergraduate students to study "subjects critical to American national security."[71] These initiatives serve as a "post-Cold War investment in vital expertise in languages and cultures critical to U.S. national security" and as a way to "enhance the national security of the U.S. by increasing our national capacity to deal effectively with foreign cultures and languages."[72] In return for their scholarships, students work for the government, applying their government-sponsored expertise to federal jobs related to national security for at least one year.[73]

These NSEP initiatives remain in place today, albeit with a new focus on the global war on terror. Given, for instance, the growing need for U.S. linguists in regions associated with the global war on terror and the global economy, the NSEP "launched a National Flagship Language Initiative," a "major partnership" between the federal government and higher education to "facilitate the study of advanced language competency in critical strategic languages focusing on Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Korean, Persian, Russian, and Turkish" in 2002.[74] The NSEP adapted to the national security and economic needs of the nation, once again reshaping its priorities and areas of study.

EDUCATION AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

Drawing from the financial and institutional arrangements staged throughout the Cold War, K–12 schools across the United States increasingly reorganize their curricula and culture to meet the ongoing needs of the global war on terror and the growing national security industry. Given this history and the current global war on terror, the United States renewed investments in these connections between the military, national security, and educational institutions. In fact, in 2012, New York City Department of Education Chancellor Joel Klein and Secretary of

State Condoleezza Rice warned that "far too many U.S. schools are failing to teach students the academic skills . . . they need to succeed." As such, *"America's failure to educate is affecting its national security."*[75] Their report specifically called for a revitalized focus on job training particularly in the math and sciences to continue to protect and defend the U.S. homeland and economy. Not doing so, Klein and Rice cautioned, would leave the United States vulnerable to catastrophic terrorist attacks and create a devastatingly weak economy. Similar to these fear-filling warnings, the post-9/11 U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century report declared education a "national security imperative," as "education in science, mathematics, and engineering has special relevance for the future of U.S. national security" and for "America's ability to lead."[76] As with previous eras, the global war on terror seemed to demand that K–12 public schools reorganize, once again, according to national security priorities.

The broader national intelligence community also outlined a pressing need for young people of color, in particular, to join its ranks. On the precipice of passing the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act in 2004, U.S. congressperson and House Intelligence Committee chair Jane Harman even testified that "we can no longer expect an Intelligence Community that is mostly male and mostly white to be able to monitor and infiltrate suspicious organizations or terrorist groups. We need spies that look like their targets, CIA officers who speak the dialects that terrorists use, and FBI agents who can speak to Muslim women that might be intimidated by men."[77] As such, the intelligence community forged partnerships with institutions of higher education and developed K–12 outreach initiatives to recruit youth of color.[78]

Given these demands, national security programs target students in all kinds of communities. Yet, as Mr. Hopkins revealed, the focus of these programs often differs, depending on whom their students are. Milton, for example, crafted its Homeland Security program with a "military focus" because it served poor and working-class youth of color, while a nearby "more affluent" school designed its Homeland Security program with an "engineering focus."

It was not just national reports that called for a realignment of schools according to U.S. national security and military needs. As these national calls burrowed into communities like Milton, local organizations also insisted on this realignment. An association of local military- and

security-based corporations called the Fort Milton Group urged local K–12 schools to strengthen the links between education and national security. In a local publication, for instance, the Group named the pressing need to transform education to "train the cyber warrior" and to "assemble an army of cyber warriors" ready to "charge onto the cyber battlefield" and meet the "national security challenges we face as a nation." Training this cyberarmy made up of "patriot hackers" capable of responding to what one lieutenant general called "September 11 cyber-attacks" required that schools redesign their curricula accordingly. "Educational output," the Group argued, must match the "demands for a secure America."[79] Drawing from the charged rhetoric texturing national reports, the Group concluded that without improving schools and aligning education with national security needs, the United States would remain vulnerable to terrorism.

How did these national and local reports alter the educational opportunities available to young people? How did schools respond to these calls to prepare young people as innovative and competitive workers for the growing security industry? One way institutions of education responded was to create formal programs of study related to issues of national security. The Center for Homeland Defense and Security announced that, as of 2015, undergraduate and graduate students can choose from 455 degree or certification programs in national security, emergency management, emergency preparedness, terrorism, or cybersecurity at two- and four-year institutions.[80] In fact, given my own Internet browsing history searching for schools with Homeland Security programs, ads for these programs frequently pop up on my social media accounts, detailing both the program and the benefits of a national security education. These ads hail from universities and colleges in all parts of the country and seem to target a diverse range of students.

Syracuse University, for instance, boasts its Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), a research, public policy, and degree-granting community of military personnel, policy makers, and professors. INSCT offers certificates of advanced study in security studies and courses in national security and counterterrorism law. Similarly, Syracuse University's College of Arts and Sciences maintains a Forensic and National Security Sciences Institute, which "provides critical leadership for the protection of our nation from complex threats, includ-

ing bioterrorism and direct criminal actions," as "no other university is poised as is Syracuse University to provide the comprehensive leadership and expertise needed to combat global terrorism, promote security, and support criminal forensic science."[81] The institute announced in July 2013 that research and development company SRC Inc., specializing in defense and intelligence, transferred its "bioforensics assets and staff" to the institute, including three scientists set to become official Syracuse University employees as a part of the new "SRC/FNSSI Team."[82] These clearly defined programs are but 2 of some 455 national security–themed postsecondary programs across the United States.

While SRC scientists ventured onto Syracuse's campus, academics recently crossed into spaces of war, using their expertise to contribute directly to the global war on terror. Recognizing the shortcomings of initial war efforts in Iraq because U.S. soldiers failed to understand the cultural terrain they entered, the United States took what is now known as the "cultural turn" in waging its global war on terror.[83] The U.S. military currently invests resources and expertise into anthropologically studying the cultural and social aspects of its targets of war with the help of academics.[84] One way the U.S. Army accomplishes this is through its Human Terrain System, a federal program that enlists and embeds social scientists with U.S. military combat troops. U.S. soldiers use social scientists' intimate knowledge of local cultures "to support operationally relevant decision-making, to develop a knowledge base, and to enable socio-cultural understanding across the operational environment."[85] The cultural knowledge gained from the Human Terrain System is "not a substitute for killing" but rather "a prerequisite for its refinement."[86] Studying culture operates as a means to understand conflict and, subsequently, better wage war. As James Der Derian flatly acknowledges, "war becomes academic and academics go to war."[87] Put simply, the U.S. military relies on academics to refine its killing and to win wars.

In addition to this "cultural turn," the U.S. military increasingly depends on unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs, more commonly known as drones), requiring an increasing number of both soldiers and engineers skilled in advancing the military use of UAVs. Universities prepare their students to contribute to this growing reliance on armed drones by the U.S. military. In fact, dozens of colleges across the United States recently adopted degree programs in drones, including the University of North

Dakota and Kansas State University–Salina. In addition, the California Polytechnic State University (Cal Poly) annually hosts a drones program with Northrop Grumman, one of the nation's largest defense contractors and weapons suppliers. In this extracurricular program, Northrop Grumman engineers design the curriculum, provide students with necessary supplies, and serve as students' teaching mentors.[88]

In 2013, the U.S. Cyber Command announced its relocation to Georgia's Fort Gordon, prompting nearby Richmond and Columbia County Public Schools to create new curriculum aimed at "get[ting] students hired at Fort Gordon's Cyber Command Center."[89] Syracuse City Schools phased out one of its "persistently low-achieving" high schools to make way for the Public Service Leadership Academy (PSLA) in 2014. Serving a poor and working-class community of color, PSLA offers Syracuse students a vocational education oriented toward public safety careers, including law enforcement, fire science, cybersecurity, computer forensics, Navy JROTC, and the electrical trades.[90] In 2015, New York's Governor Cuomo committed $15 million to the University of Albany to develop the "first-in-the-nation" College of Emergency Preparedness, Homeland Security, and Cybersecurity.[91]

Striving to reach an even younger audience, the NSA established its own CryptoKids website. NSA designed CryptoKids as a way to train the next generation of cybersecurity workers by exciting and engaging young children through encryption-oriented games, coloring books, and hands-on activities.[92] The CrytpoKids website even educates children on how to prepare for particular jobs at the NSA. It details the types of classes children should take and what games they should play (crossword puzzles and cryptograms) to develop relevant skills. The NSA also maintains its own Cryptologic Museum, which chronicles and celebrates U.S. developments of code making and code breaking across history with hands-on learning opportunities for children. When I toured the Cryptologic Museum, navigating around groups of students visiting from nearby schools, a retired NSA employee and museum volunteer offered me my very own CryptoKids activity book.

CryptoKids is far from an exceptional program. In 2010, the Obama administration announced its National Initiative for Cybersecurity Education (NICE), a nationwide cybersecurity education program coordinated by the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST). One part of NICE is the Formal Cybersecurity Education Component,

FIGURE 1. *The National Security Agency's CryptoKids coloring book.*

a project aimed at "bolster[ing] formal cyber-security education pro-grams encompassing kindergarten through 12th grade, higher educa-tion and vocational programs, with a focus on the science, technology, engineering, and math disciplines to provide a pipeline of skilled work-ers for the private sector and government."[93] The Formal Cybersecurity Education Component seeks to develop "cybersecurity researchers," a "cybersecurity capable workforce," and "cybersecurity aware citizens."[94] Through NICE, the Obama administration positioned K–20 schools as essential sites to buttress national cybersecurity efforts through the preparation of "cybersecurity-capable" workers.

Similarly, the federal Defense Information Systems Agency (DISA) partnered with schools throughout the United States to implement a robotics program and a summer technology and engineering program. The program manager for these initiatives explained that this educa-tion project "allows the Agency to reach kids *while they are still impres-sionable* and get them interested in careers within the math, science, engineering, and technology fields," with the hope that "their experi-ence in the program generates an interest to work for DISA when they

are old enough."[95] Students at Milton secured internships through DISA and even shadowed DISA employees to observe their day-to-day working lives.

In addition to these formalized programs, national security experts and high-ranking military officers often assume leadership positions within institutions of education. In April 2013, for example, the City University of New York (CUNY) announced its hiring of former director of the CIA General David Petraeus as a visiting professor.[96] General Petraeus gained notoriety for his troop "surge" strategy in Iraq. Just a few months earlier, Harvard's Kennedy School had announced that Petraeus would lead a new research project on "major technological, scientific and economic dynamics that are spurring renewed U.S. and North American competitiveness."[97] The Kennedy School lauded General Petraeus's credentials, citing his service as CIA director and military commander.[98] For both CUNY and Harvard, these experiences qualified General Petraeus for university-level teaching and research.

A few months later, in July 2013, the Haverford School, an all-boys, nonsectarian private school outside of Philadelphia, appointed Lieutenant Colonel John Nagl as the school's new headmaster. John Nagl served as the chief architect of the new counterinsurgency strategy. In fact, Nagl contributed to the *U.S. Army/Marines Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual* upon returning from his own tour of duty in Iraq in 2003.[99] That same month, the University of California selected U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano as president of its ten-campus system, despite her having no background in education.[100]

What does it mean that the military's preeminent soldiers like John Nagl and David Petraeus and national security experts like Janet Napolitano now occupy roles as educators and school leaders? How does their presence shape their schools' curricula and culture? How does their work contribute to the continued mangling of national security and education? The educational arrival of John Nagl, David Petraeus, and Janet Napolitano signals the intensification of a deeply troubling trend that fuses education, the military, and the national security industry, making visible the military–industrial–academic complex woven into the fabric of U.S. schooling.

With history pressing into the present, it was clear that more (ethnographic) work needed to be done to understand how these histories, racialized and classed contexts, and current social forces shape schools

and the students who attend them. As this brief survey of these programs indicates, although scholars have documented the growing relationship between institutions of higher education and the national security industry, extensive research on K–12 schools remains markedly absent from academic inquiry. Furthermore, no research study ethnographically explores everyday life in a high school with a Homeland Security program. This gap exists despite the ongoing push for "vertical alignment," the synchronizing of high school curriculum with university programs of study. Milton dubbed its vertical alignment strategy the "kindergarten to career pipeline." As such, Milton High School and its Homeland Security program seemed like a good starting place to learn about how military exigencies and national security priorities infiltrate and organize everyday life in U.S. high schools, and how U.S. schools contribute to these broader national security efforts.

Fear in Everyday Life

Within these current struggles to secure society, fear figures prominently in everyday life in the United States. As such, scholars have paid careful attention to how global fears of imminent terrorist attacks organize U.S. policies, practices, and culture.[101] Yet these studies often ignore the social processes that produce fear and how people negotiate these fears in their daily lives.

Sara Ahmed, for instance, asks us to query why a child who encounters a bear immediately becomes afraid and thus runs away from the bear.[102] A medical model of fear contends that the bear makes the child afraid and causes her body to respond automatically: her heart races, her body sweats, and her hair rises. Eventually, she runs. A functionalist analysis of fear suggests that fear functions to protect the child from danger.[103] Yet these readings of fear fail to consider *why* the child is afraid, or fearful, of the bear. Another reading of this encounter might ask, why does the bear appear fearsome to the child? What social forces and genealogies led the child to instantly interpret the bear as fearsome? The child, after all, already holds an image of the bear as an animal to be feared, an affective interpretation necessarily shaped by "cultural histories and memories."[104]

Fear, in this way, is not simply a consequence of objective calculations of risk but a *social* emotion intimately bound up with a politics

of representation. Social and cultural practices mark distinct bodies as fearsome regardless of actual assessments of risk.[105] As political scientist David Campbell argues, the "ability to represent things as alien, subversive, dirty, or sick"—Muslims, the urban poor, youth of color, immigrants—has been "pivotal to the articulation of danger in the American experience."[106] Fear, then, is not an inherent bodily response to danger but a mediated reaction shaped by enduring cultural histories through which people come to apprehend some bodies, behaviors, and objects as fearsome. Staged through this cultural work, fear textures political life.

Through Milton's Homeland Security program, students learned to identify, and thus fear, certain risks, dangers, and bodies as potential sources of terror. Indeed, fear organized many of my conversations with Milton students. As we dwelled in this fear, students articulated that this fear was productive: They trained to be "savvy" national security experts who could effectively identify and thwart terrorist threats. In fact, Milton students prided themselves on being "alert" and "vigilant" citizens who could "pick out a potential threat" and recognize the "red flags" that signaled danger. As students studied terrorism from the perspective of the national security industry, they relied on racialized tropes to determine who and what they feared. In the shadow of the September 11 attacks, Milton marshalled these historically contingent and socially mediated fears to shape how students made sense of and responded to perceived terrorist threats.

Remaking Milton

Resurgent fears of terrorism and current trends in U.S. public school reform contributed to the creation of Milton's Homeland Security program. Milton's story teaches us how, in response to the global war on terror, these neoliberalizing, militarizing, and securitizing forces carve out new educational arrangements, articulate new purposes of education, and cultivate new affective capacities. Milton's story offers vital empirical insight and new analytical frames to understand the productive, though often contradictory, relationship between everyday life in U.S. public schools, the continued reorganization of society for the production of violence, intensification of corporatized schooling, and rapid expansion of the national security industry. As the first ethnography of

a U.S. public school with a specialized Homeland Security program, this book lends itself to understanding the complex social processes and dominant logics through which Milton school staff came to imagine their program as "changing the nature of education" and "eliminating the achievement gap altogether."

The Covert Researcher
The Ethics of a School Ethnography

As I walked through her Institutional Review Board (IRB)[1] consent form that detailed my research project and the risks and benefits of her participation in it, Homeland Security teacher Ms. Perez anxiously asked, "What, exactly, are you looking at?" Concerned about her status as a new teacher and thus worried about how my research might evaluate her, Ms. Perez hesitated at signing this consent form required by the IRB. Her signature, after all, would indicate her understanding of and voluntary participation in my research study. She wanted to know just what she was signing up for. On the surface, Ms. Perez's apprehensive question seemed easy to answer. Yet, after taking a moment to think about my response, I realized that the answer, and how I might frame it, was more complicated than I had expected.

As I struggled to answer Ms. Perez's question, I quickly sifted through my intellectual critiques of the growing relationship between the national security industry, the military, and U.S. public schools. Although I began my fieldwork with a sociological curiosity about what a national security education entailed, I also arrived with serious questions about the focus and effects of Milton's program. What ethical responsibilities, if any, did I have to divulge these concerns and the academic literatures that informed them? How might these revelations influence Ms. Perez's participation in the study?

Ms. Perez's question forced me to confront these ethical decisions throughout my time at the school. It compelled me to more thoughtfully assess how I strategically disclosed and concealed my own intellectual critiques, interpretations, and understandings of Milton's Homeland Security program. Negotiating these decisions in the field seemed urgent, as I recognized that teachers often occupy precarious positions and possess little power in the schools in which they work. Given these power relations, teachers "can be subtly coerced into participating in

studies about which they have reservations," particularly "when district officials and principals have agreed" to these research studies.[2] Students, too, can be unduly coerced into participating in research projects approved by school adults. Conducting a school ethnography imposed relations of power I needed to consider as I struggled to respond to Ms. Perez's question. By exploring how my intellectual critiques shaped my fieldwork, I offer new ways to examine what constitutes c/overt research.

An Ethnographer at Milton

Although newspaper articles and online blogs detailed some aspects of Milton, I sought to immerse myself in the school to learn more about its Homeland Security program. Rather than carrying out the type of evaluative study that worried Ms. Perez, I conducted a school ethnography during the 2012–13 school year. Ethnographies provide a "thick description" of everyday life through the immersion of the researcher into local communities.[3] Through participant observation, interviews, and focus groups, the task of ethnographers is to "document the culture— the perspectives and practices—of the people in these settings" and to "'get inside' the way each group of people sees the world."[4] Ethnographies explore people's experiences in everyday life and their interpretations of these experiences in relation to the broader geo/political, historical, cultural, and economic contexts in which they are located. School ethnographies, in particular, offer a window into the social forces that shape schools, student experiences, and the daily work of teachers. In this way, an ethnographic approach was well suited for this project, as I sought to better understand how militarization, securitization, and neoliberalization structured Milton's Homeland Security program and people's experiences in it.

To gain access to Milton High School, I initially contacted Joe Hopkins, the Homeland Security program coordinator. I first pitched my research study to Mr. Hopkins in an e-mail detailing my research questions and what would be required of participants. Mr. Hopkins then proposed my project to his building administrators, the gatekeepers who controlled my access to Milton. After a brief discussion, Milton teachers and administrators enthusiastically agreed to my research study.

Before signing any official forms, though, Milton school staff wanted to get a better sense of who I was and what I intended to do while at the school. As such, Mr. Hopkins invited me to the school to iron out the details of my project and meet with school staff. As a part of my visit, Mr. Hopkins arranged a meeting with district-level school administrators, the principal and assistant principal, and the two Homeland Security teachers, Mr. Ross and Ms. Perez. In this meeting, I explained the details of the project, how much time I planned to spend in the school and in their classrooms, and how participants would contribute to the study. As I spoke about my research study and specific interest in Milton, I read school administrators as excited to show off their Homeland Security program because they were proud of it and of their contributions to its perceived success.

After this meeting, Mr. Hopkins gave me a tour of the school building and introduced me to teachers we passed in the hall. When we finished our walk, Mr. Hopkins and I established an initial schedule of Homeland Security classes, events, and guest speakers I would observe. Planning interviews and focus groups would wait until after I was more integrated into the school and after students and staff were more familiar with me. Mr. Hopkins then dropped me off at Mr. Ross's Geographic Information Systems (GIS) class, where I observed Homeland Security students building rockets with the help of NASA employees. After the last bell rang, I smiled as I navigated my way through the hall teeming with students celebrating the end of the school day. I felt warmly welcomed into Milton by school staff, who believed in the work they were doing and its positive impact on students.

In these early stages of my project, I talked most often with Mr. Hopkins and hung out in the Homeland Security office with him. This was also how I met former Homeland Security program coordinator Brad Sanford. Though he was retired, I occasionally found Mr. Sanford in the Homeland Security office drinking coffee, eating granola bars, and developing a partnership with a local community college's own Homeland Security program. Mr. Sanford began working as an English teacher at Milton when it first opened in the 1970s and, as such, declared he would serve as my "resident historian" who could detail the school's rich history. Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Sanford's successor, jokingly referred to him as the "resident dinosaur"!

Over time, Mr. Hopkins introduced me to other teachers and building administrators at Milton. He also provided me with contact information for district-level administrators whom I later interviewed. Eager for me to observe all of Milton's offerings, Mr. Hopkins always invited me to sit in on Homeland Security meetings, go on field trips, and attend guest lectures. These activities provided me with the opportunity to chat casually with others involved in Milton's programs and led to formal interviews with national security experts.

Occasionally, Ms. Perez and Mr. Ross would plan their lessons or eat lunch in the Homeland Security office. Early on in my fieldwork, I interacted with Ms. Perez and Mr. Ross only when I formally observed their classrooms or participated in Homeland Security events. Yet, when Ms. Perez's teaching schedule changed with the new semester, she spent most of her time in her classroom, even during periods she did not teach. As my relationship developed with Ms. Perez, I spent more time in her classroom and less time in the Homeland Security office with Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Ross, whose classroom could be accessed through a door at the back of Ms. Perez's classroom, sometimes popped in to chat in between classes and during lunch.

During this time, I also regularly observed Ms. Perez's Foundations of Homeland Security 1 and 2 classes. These courses anchored the Homeland Security program by providing students with an overview of national security threats like bioterrorism and the "countermeasures" used to thwart these threats. As department chair, Mr. Ross often invited national security industry experts like NSA and FBI agents to speak to these classes. I had the opportunity to observe seven of these guest lectures. Mr. Ross also diligently worked to create field trip opportunities across the Mid-Atlantic for students. I attended two of these with students: one to a local college to visit its Cyber Battle Lab and one to the State Police Academy, where students and I participated in police training modules.

I also attended program events like "quarterly celebrations" held by Milton to honor the work of students and the contributions of the school's national security industry partners. I volunteered to set up for and clean up after these events to create more opportunities to chat with those involved in the Homeland Security program. Additionally, when Milton Middle School principal Bob Smith and academic performance coach Becky Saunders invited me to visit their school when we

met while setting up lunch on a field trip, I did, returning three times: once to interview them, once to observe a Homeland Security recruiting event, and once to participate in a school-wide community-building activity.

As expected, planning these many events, field trips, guest speakers, and specialized classes required much organizing between teachers, school administrators, and industry partners. Accordingly, I sat in on several planning meetings held at the school, county, and regional levels. These meetings sometimes included school staff from other districts with their own Homeland Security programs. These sessions provided the space to redesign their curricula in light of the changing needs of the industry, think strategically about whom to invite to the school as guest speakers, collaborate with Homeland Security teachers from other school districts, and evaluate the success of their programs.

Trying to further integrate myself into everyday life at Milton, I spent time each day "hanging out" in the school: in the library, Homeland Security office, cafeteria, teacher's lounges, main office, and hallways. In addition, I went to lacrosse practice, attended the drama club's school play, sat in on the International Baccalaureate (IB) program celebration, and participated in a Victorian Tea Day organized by students in the Advanced Placement (AP) English class. Moreover, Milton teachers occasionally invited me to an off-campus lunch where they could talk more freely about their students and teaching experiences.

After hanging out in the school and observing Ms. Perez's classes for a few months, I recruited students for formal interviews and participation in focus groups. While interviews provided students with the opportunity to respond to questions one-on-one with me in a more confidential setting, focus groups built generative discussions among students. In these sessions, students interacted with and bounced ideas off each other as they sorted through their experiences in the school and their understandings of national security, terrorism, and the purposes of education. These student sessions complemented interviews and focus groups I conducted with Milton teachers, program coordinators, school administrators, and national security experts involved in the program. These in-depth sessions ran anywhere between twenty minutes and three hours, depending on both the conversation and the time constraints imposed by the school day.[5]

Many participants occupying different roles contributed to these

NAME	POSITION
Barbara Foster	Administrator, Office of Special Studies, Franklin County Public Schools
Ryan Arnold	Administrator, Office of Special Studies, Franklin County Public Schools
Jordan Waiters	Administrator, Office of Special Studies, Franklin County Public Schools
George Young	Principal, Milton High School, 2012 to present
Sam Whiting	Assistant Principal, Milton High School, 2010–13
Joe Hopkins	Program Coordinator, Homeland Security program, 2011 to present
Jason Ross	Department Chair, Homeland Security program, 2015 to present, and teacher, 2009 to 2015
Sarah Perez	Teacher, Homeland Security program, 2012 to present
Janine Simmons	Algebra teacher, Milton High School
Davonte Samuel	Team of Community Partners member, owner of a security contracting company
Jerry Nash	Team of Community Partners member, Northrop Grumman engineer
Bob Smith	Principal, Milton Middle School, 2009 to present
Becky Saunders	Academic Performance Coach, Milton Middle School, 2009 to present
Phil MacArthur	Administrator, Davis County Public Schools
Lorraine Thomas	Former Department Chair and teacher, Homeland Security program, 2008–12
Brad Sanford	Former Program Coordinator, Homeland Security program, 2008–11

FIGURE 2. *Adults whom I interviewed and met with throughout the school day.*

observations, interviews, and focus groups. Figures 2–5 provide a handy overview of research participants. Organized hierarchically by occupation, Figure 2 names adult participants whom I formally interviewed and met with throughout the school day. Figure 3 hierarchically lists informal and nonparticipant adults—adults associated with the program with whom I never spoke formally. They may have attended a meeting

NAME	POSITION
Keith Martin	Superintendent, Franklin County Public Schools, 2006–13
Jenny Snyder	Former Principal, Milton High School, 1999–2007
David Keaton	Former Principal, Milton High School, 2007–11, and former Milton Assistant Principal
Jacob Pittman	Guidance counselor, Milton High School
Colonel Roberts	Installation Commander, Fort Peter Milton, 2011–13
Colonel McNeil	Former Installation Commander, Fort Peter Milton, 2005–8
Mark Nevins	Executive, Franklin County, 2013 to present
Jacob Otto	Executive, Franklin County, 1998–2006
Susan Lexington	Executive, Franklin County, 2006–13

FIGURE 3. *Adults who contributed to the development of Milton's Homeland Security program but who were not formally enrolled in my research study.*

or been cited in local newspapers or school publications, and I refer to them in this book. Arranged alphabetically by first name, Figure 4 outlines the students whom I interviewed or observed. Figure 5 offers an overview of the faculty hierarchy within Franklin County Public Schools, Milton's governing school district.

In addition to hanging out at Milton, I read as much as I could about the program and any other materials related to the relationship between U.S. public schools and national security. I carried out a document analysis of these artifacts, which included school newsletters, district reports, and publications issued by security companies. I collected drafts of grant applications and mission statements distributed at various Homeland Security meetings at Milton. In addition, I diligently gathered any and all local newspaper articles on Milton's program and others like it. I even subscribed to *Emergency Management: Strategy and Leadership in Critical Times* and to *Homeland Security Today,* leading trade magazines in the national security and emergency management fields that industry partners named as recommended readings for Homeland Security teachers.

Collectively, these documents served as "sources of rich descriptions of how the people who produced the materials think about their world" and how they contributed to, reflected, or ran counter to everyday talk

STUDENT NAME	GRADE	CAREER ASPIRATION
Aliyah Conrad	10	Forensic science
Brittany Samuels	9	Hairstylist
Chris Michaels	11	U.S. Naval Academy
Delvon Hunter	11	Computer engineering/cybersecurity
Derek Hoover	11	Firefighter
Grant Lloyd	9	Cybersecurity
Isabella Ramos	10	Cybersecurity or forensic psychologist
Isse Mukoma	10	College for homeland security or law enforcement
Jack Ashcroft	11	U.S. Marine Corps
Jacob Davis	11	Cyberforensics at local community college
Jamal Wright	11	Homeland security, either federal or private sector
Jared Roberts	11	Computer science/geospatial information systems (GIS) or Transportation Security Administration
Jazlin Parus	10	Unsure, but not homeland security (it's a backup plan)
Martrez Duncan	10	National Security Agency or FBI
Monique White	11	Computer engineering for the government
Na'jae Matthews	10	Anything with the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, forensic science, or aerodynamics
Nakisha Cone	9	Prosecutor
Tamara Campbell	11	Military and homeland security
Tanya Nichols	12	Cybersecurity
Tara O'Malley	10	Unknown
Tiffany Kinder	11	National Security Agency
Trevor Dunbar	9	Patrol cop or homicide detective
Tyrell Thomas	10	Engineer at Northrop Grumman

FIGURE 4. *Milton students who played a significant role in my research study through formal interviews and informal classroom conversations.*
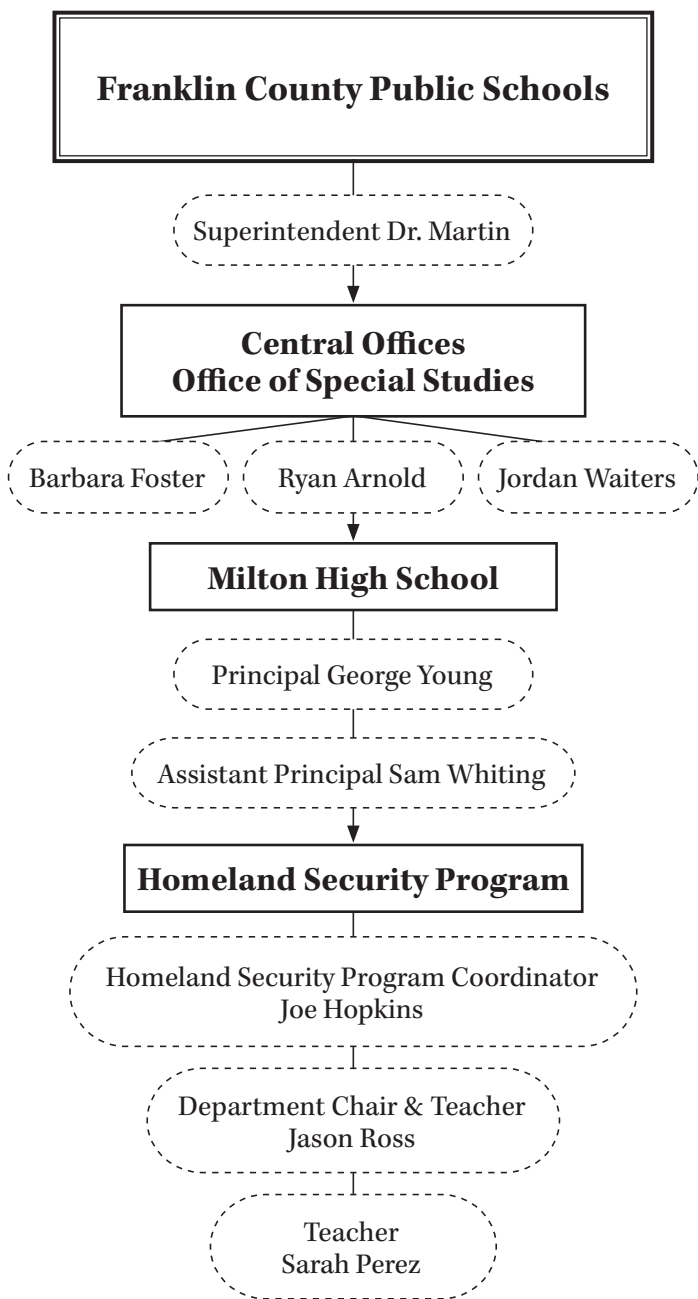
FIGURE 5. *Franklin County Public Schools's staff hierarchy.*

about national security by students and school staff.[6] Since discourses both "constrain how we might participate in social life because they furnish subject positions" and "construct objects," I sought to trace the discourses and vocabularies that circulated within the Milton community, how they enabled and limited how students talked and thought about their school and about national security, and how people negotiated these discourses.[7]

Together, participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and document analysis provided intimate insight into everyday life in Milton's Homeland Security program. As a school ethnography, this research study details the prevailing social forces that structured the school and people's experiences in it.

By documenting this research design, I directly answer Ms. Perez's question, "What, exactly, are you looking at?" Yet these details gloss over how I strategically disclosed and concealed my intellectual politics while in the field. These decisions, laden with ethical implications, shaped my time at the school. Rather than sanitize this research project by erasing these decisions, I explore these negotiations to contribute to and expand the current debates about what constitutes ethical c/overt qualitative research.

Covert Methods in Overt Research Studies

In a 2012 episode of the political drama *Scandal,* journalist James Novak discovered that presidential campaign members illegally rigged voting machines.[8] After learning of these abuses of power, James sought to reveal to the public how the president "stole the White House." To do so, James needed to locate the computer chip used to alter votes, the only tangible evidence of election rigging. To gain access to the tampered voting machines, James told a Board of Elections employee in one of the voting districts that he was a journalist reporting on the town's "successful transition to the digital age" and use of state-of-the-art voting machines. Approving of these intentions, the employee gave James the information he needed to find the voting machines and computer chip.

James's decision to disguise his research intentions from the person who could provide him access to the voting machines provokes questions about the ethics of covert research methods: What ethical responsibility did James have to disclose his research agenda? Did his inten-

tions to reveal hidden abuses of power alter this responsibility? How does the research community vet what counts as ethical research methods? Who gets to decide?

Scholars have long debated the un/ethics of "covert,"[9] "disguised,"[10] "masked,"[11] "deceptive,"[12] and "concealed"[13] qualitative research, sometimes pejoratively referred to by critics as "sociological snooping."[14] In these debates, covert qualitative research typically refers to studies carried out without the full consent or knowledge of its participants. To complete their research projects, covert researchers conduct unannounced participant observation or, like James, disguise their research intentions. Sociologist Donald Warwick asserts that these methodological practices of "deception, misrepresentation, and manipulation" run counter to "democratic nations."[15] Others scathingly assert that such covert research engages in "duplicitous"[16] methods. These methods jeopardize the integrity of qualitative research and the safety of research participants by betraying the commitment to full disclosure and informed consent.

Yet this barometer of "ethical" research reductively ignores the various methods, aims, and power relations that shape covert research. Hastily dismissing covert methods as unethical forecloses research aimed at uncovering the hidden violence/s of the state. If social scientists *only* research that which is public, or that which participants willingly make public, they restrict the liberatory possibilities of qualitative research. To be sure, if the United States is a "democratic nation," as Warwick insists, but is unwilling to provide its citizens with insight (and oversight) into its daily operations, should the state not be studied? Should its abuses in places like Guantánamo Bay, psychiatric hospitals, or U.S. prisons remain unknown and invisible simply because the state and its actors deny full access to these "private" spaces?[17] In answering these questions, researchers must consider how power operates within the field of c/overt research and how c/overt projects might contribute to redressing social inequalities by exposing abuses of power carried out in secret.[18]

Social scientists sometimes justify the use of covert methods because this approach uncovers otherwise secret or, at least, obscured practices that harm vulnerable populations. Timothy Diamond, for instance, took a job as a nurse's aide to conduct a covert institutional ethnography of care work at a nursing home.[19] This covert study provided important

insight into how the health care system insidiously constrained the kind of care workers could provide, thus leaving their elderly residents malnourished, cold, and sick. Similarly, Erving Goffman worked as a physical therapist's assistant in a psychiatric institution to reveal the long-hidden dire and deadly conditions its "inmates" faced.[20] Because the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) operates through a thick veil of secrecy, journalist Jerry Thompson infiltrated the organization by posing as a KKK recruit for eighteen months. His resultant ethnography, *My Life in the Klan,* provided critical insight into the KKK's ideologies and day-to-day practices that made (and continue to make) its racialized violence possible, with the hope that such revelations would help dismantle the Klan.[21] Jackie Orr surreptitiously participated in clinical trials for the antianxiety drug Xanax. During these drug trials, Orr secretly kept a "panic journal" to document the production, diffusion, regulation, and manipulation of panic and its profitability, a process invisible to the U.S. public.[22] In each of these studies, going undercover served as a means to expose the violences committed by those in power (nursing homes, psychiatric institutions, the KKK, and pharmaceuticals) against historically marginalized or non-dominant groups (the elderly, those labeled with psychiatric disabilities, people of color, and poor people).

While these studies importantly revealed hidden abuses of power, the infamous 1932–72 Tuskegee Experiment reminds us that researchers also ab/use their power for their own scientific gains. In the Tuskegee Experiment, scientists enlisted poor Black men into what the men believed were free, U.S. government–sponsored treatments for "bad blood" illnesses like anemia. As the *Belmont Report* explains, to better understand the progression of untreated syphilis in rural Black men, researchers never told participants they had syphilis and "deprived subjects of demonstrably effective treatment in order not to interrupt the project, long after such treatment became generally available." This is how, historically, "the burdens of serving as research subjects fell largely upon poor ward patients, while the benefits of improved medical care flowed primarily to private patients" throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[23] It is these violent asymmetries of power that researchers must carefully weigh before choosing (or abandoning) covert methods.

Accordingly, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) suggests in its Framework for Research Ethics that "the broad principle

should be that covert research must not be undertaken lightly or routinely. It is only justified if important issues are being addressed and if matters of social significance which cannot be uncovered in other ways are likely to be discovered."[24] For the ESRC, "social significance" serves as the moral compass for researchers wanting to employ covert methods. Yet, given the historical exploitation of non-dominant populations in the name of advancing (social) science, I contend that social significance *and* attention to power relations must guide a researcher's choice of methods.

Nevertheless, even these guidelines neatly categorize research as either covert or overt, ignoring the gray space between these two poles. It is in this blurred gray space, I offer, that ethical research can be, and is, at once overt and covert. To map this gray space, I examine my own *overt* research study at Milton. To do so, I trace how I strategically concealed my intellectual politics on public school reform, the global war on terror, and daily national security operations. I explore how, in addition to these acts of concealment, I performed particular identities to build rapport, feel safe in the field, and gain access to information that might not otherwise have been available to me. These negotiations within an otherwise overt research project were rife with emotional stress heightened by my relationships with, and sense of responsibility to, research participants. These tensions, struggles, and stresses palpated the pages of my field journal, leaving behind traces of the emotional labor involved in conducting such political research invested in creating a more just future. I animate these decisions to push current debates on c/overt research in generative ways. Overt research, after all, often depends on covert methods.

The Politics of Framing a Research Study

Announcing a research study to participants is not a straightforward process: it requires making decisions about how to frame the study and the researcher's intellectual politics. When I first reached out to Milton administrators to gain access to the school, I was in the midst of a school reform project in Syracuse, an experience that shaped my research interests. My professional commitments and daily struggles in a Syracuse city school seemed to overlap those of Milton school staff. As such, I chose to describe my project using the language of school

reform, positioning the study as one that would explore how Milton's Homeland Security program worked to improve the school.

I include an excerpt from the first e-mail I wrote to Homeland Security program coordinator Mr. Hopkins. In this e-mail, I pitched my research study and explained my research intentions. This e-mail serves as one example of how I announced and framed this research project to gatekeepers and potential research participants:

> My name is Nicole Nguyen and I am currently a graduate student at Syracuse University. I also work on a school reform project that is a partnership between Syracuse University and a local Syracuse city public high school with support from corporations and foundations. After hearing about the new wave of changes happening at Milton High School, I became interested in learning more about its creation of a Homeland Security Trademark program as a part of my dissertation research. The purpose of my study is to understand how the added financial resources and expertise through corporate partnerships alongside the focus on homeland security studies has shaped instruction, curriculum, and school culture across content areas at Milton. Because this is an innovative and new kind of school reform model, I am also interested in learning more about students' and teachers' experiences in the Homeland Security program and how young people describe the role of homeland security, safety, and education in their lives.

As this description of my research project illustrates, I focused Mr. Hopkins's attention on my own school reform efforts in Syracuse, which contributed to my interest in learning about Milton's novel Homeland Security program. I clearly articulated the purpose of my research study and larger research questions. My statement also communicated how, and why, I became interested in Milton.

Proud of their contributions to improving the quality of education offered at their school, Milton administrators met my query with great enthusiasm. Guided by this articulated research agenda and school staff's approval of the scope of my research project and their participation, the Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) at Franklin County Public Schools and Syracuse University granted me access on the condition that I provided the district with a "data-rich" report at the end of my

study. I readily consented to this agreement and submitted a thirty-page data-rich report to the district upon the completion of my fieldwork. This report did discuss some of the issues raised in this book.

Through this process, I carefully outlined the purpose of my research study, participants' roles in carrying out the project, the risks and benefits associated with this participation, and how the data would be used in the future. In doing so, I met my ethical responsibilities of full disclosure and informed consent, standards sutured into the IRBs' required procedures. Yet, in my initial discussion of my project, which included talk of risks, confidentiality, and intentions, I never divulged my intellectual politics nor my alignment with rich bodies of scholarship that critique the corporatization of schools, security cultures, and militarization. Like Brooke Johnson, who conducted an ethnography of a military charter school without being "up front" about her "antiwar stance" with school staff,[25] I never revealed that the militarized focus on national security and job training, while interesting, troubled me. I never articulated that the intensifying relationship between national security and public schooling worried me, even if Milton sought to improve the quality of education for its students by nourishing this relationship. Instead, I chose to focus on my shared experience on a school reform project and my own sociological curiosity about teachers' and students' experiences in the program, a curiosity that drove my research study. Participants, accordingly, assumed my allegiance to the Homeland Security program. Situating myself in this way worked to ensure access to the school, build trust, and develop meaningful relationships with research participants.

Did these strategic absences count as "disguising" or "concealing" my research intentions in unethical ways? Intimating to participants the breadth of my intellectual politics seemed impossible. Was I required to disclose some of these economies of critique and not others? How should I choose? My interest in school reform faded halfway through my fieldwork as issues of national security became more pronounced. Did I need to announce this shift? What did the standards of "ethics" require? Who decided on these standards? And whom did such standards intend to and, in practice, actually protect? Did these standards account for the fact that some research participants wielded great power as high-level NSA, FBI, and Department of Homeland Security officials? Would the same standards have been asked of me if

my politics had fully aligned with those of research participants? Had I shared the same intellectual politics and educational commitments as Milton staff, could they have remained unannounced? Which intellectual critiques did I need to announce, if any?

These questions illustrate that conducting an overt qualitative study is not an uncomplicated process: researchers often rely on covert methods even in overt research studies. As such, researchers must push the current c/overt methods debate beyond its current balkanization. As one approach to adding nuance to this conversation, I dwell in the gradated zone somewhere between overt and covert, in the gray space where ethics are not so easily mapped but where ethical research is still possible. Instead of imagining covert and overt research as always oppositional undertakings, I acknowledge that the division between the two is a "messy reality . . . more akin to a continuum."[26] Indeed, the growing number of metaphors used to capture covert methods in overt studies— a "blurred situation," "continuum," or "gray space"—reflect the ongoing struggles to make sense of these methodological and ethical complications that have traditionally fallen outside of the c/overt debates.

At Milton, I traversed this overt–covert continuum, making visible some of my intellectual politics while concealing others. To navigate this gray space, I continually negotiated what to disclose and conceal, or, more precisely, *how* to disclose and conceal information about my research study. Explaining my project in the initial stages of the study required that I make explicit decisions about how to talk about my research agenda. Each subsequent research encounter at Milton demanded that I once again revisit and remake these choices. These decisions blurred the line between covert and overt methods.

Strategic Disclosures, Concealments, and Performances in the Field

Ms. Perez's question "What, exactly, are you looking at?" triggered my first critical reflection of how I disclosed or concealed my intellectual politics throughout my fieldwork. Because I failed to anticipate how my intellectual politics would translate into and shape my fieldwork, Ms. Perez's question surprised me. I read first-year teacher Ms. Perez as both skeptical of my continued presence in her classroom and anxious about how I might evaluate her. She worried aloud about what I might write in my report for the school district and if this report would ade-

quately account for the social contexts, like race and poverty, that powerfully shaped her classroom. I knew that Ms. Perez wanted reassurance that I would portray her as a hardworking teacher constrained by bureaucratic red tape and larger social forces.

Given her precarious position as a new teacher, I reminded Ms. Perez that I was not interested in evaluating her teaching the way school administrators typically do. Instead, I explained, I sought to learn more about what topics she taught in her Homeland Security classes and how she framed these issues. Interviewing students and observing her classes would provide insight into students' experiences in the program and how they interpreted, made sense of, and applied their new national security knowledge. As I eased Ms. Perez's concerns by detailing my research agenda, I never discussed our conflicting intellectual politics.

I include an excerpt of this discussion with Ms. Perez, which I recorded in my field journal. Sorting through my use of c/overt methods, I carefully documented how I framed my research intentions and talked through the risks of her participation. I also compared Ms. Perez's response to the risks outlined in the IRB to the reactions of school administrators. As administrators quickly dismissed any risks associated with their participation in the study, I was reminded of how power figured into Ms. Perez's concerns about the purposes and uses of my research study. These uneven power relations structured distinct relationships with participants with more or less status than others. I responded to Ms. Perez in a way that attempted to account for these power relations:

When I gave Ms. Perez the IRB consent form, she read it carefully. Although I walked her through the contents of the form and provided a detailed description of my research study, Ms. Perez raised a few concerns about her participation. As a Homeland Security teacher, she first said, "I see that this says 'risk.' When I see the word 'risk,' I get nervous. Can you tell me a little bit more what the risk is?" I talked through some of the risks of the project, particularly regarding how she might feel pressured to participate because of her administration's eager support of my project or that she might feel the need to represent the program in particular ways. She then asked what I intended do with my findings. I talked about how my dissertation might be published and that I was required to write a

short, evaluative report for the assistant superintendent. I gave her an example about how the Team of Community Partners, a group of national security experts who worked with Milton school staff, might be more effective if the Team took teachers more seriously or gave teachers an active role in making decisions about the direction and content of the Homeland Security program. To this example, Ms. Perez replied, "Okay, so you would say something like 'The teachers are teaching what they were given by the school board to teach and they're doing their jobs, but here's how it could improve?'" I responded, "Yes, and also that I'm really interested in what kids have to say." I then gave Ms. Perez an example of how I jotted down notes on how students responded to a guest speaker's question about what they wanted to do after graduation and the vocabularies they used to talk about their future careers. This discussion with the guest speaker, I told Ms. Perez, provided insight into how students were making sense of terrorism and their role in defending the United States based on their participation in the Homeland Security program. To this explanation, Ms. Perez said, "Okay," and signed her consent form.

While Ms. Perez fretted about her participation in my research study, district administrators joked about my use of the word "risk" in their consent forms. One administrator even did a satirical reading of his consent form before a focus group because he thought it was such an unnecessary process. After his performance, he and his colleagues burst out laughing. They quickly consented to the study without asking more questions about me, my past experiences in public schools, or my intellectual politics. After the formal consent process, there was little opportunity to disclose anything, and so their assumption that I fully agreed with their school reform project went unexamined. Despite my appeals to take the potential risks of their participation seriously, I read these administrators as believing their power shielded them from any repercussions: how could sharing their experiences in and opinions about a successful school reform project expose them to any harm?

In these exchanges with Ms. Perez and school administrators, I followed the process of "informed consent" outlined by the IRB. I clearly articulated the scope of my research study, what their participation in the project would entail, the risks and benefits of their participation,

how the data would be stored and used in the future, and the voluntary nature of the study. Yet, in doing so, I never divulged my concerns about the intensified relationship between the national security industry and U.S. public schools. Although my project fell under the rubric of overt research, I engaged in covert practices that concealed, or at least ignored, my intellectual politics.

As I navigated this messy methodological terrain, my field notes illustrated how my sociological curiosity, not a predetermined set of critiques, structured my time in the field. Many times, my observations of and participation in Milton's Homeland Security program challenged my own critical scholarship and understandings of school securitization. This book attempts to capture these complexities.

After these initial processes of describing my research intentions and consenting participants, I confronted other issues of covertness. I, like all researchers, "passed," meaning I managed "undisclosed information about [my]self" and strategically chose how to perform my intellectual politics and personal identities.[27] Reflecting on my decisions, I realize that people, and social scientists, always rely on these strategic disclosures and concealments in their everyday lives. As we move through different social worlds like home, work, and spaces of leisure, we perform our identities in new ways, sometimes changing our clothes, language, behaviors, personalities, and expectations. Our performances shift in different social contexts, including the field site, as we encounter different people in order to gain trust, build rapport, and feel safe. These strategies reveal and conceal particular aspects of our identities and intellectual politics. I trace these "contrived" performances specific to my time at Milton to examine how the politics of covert research extend beyond announcing the researcher's presence, describing her methods, and disclosing her research agenda.[28]

At Milton, "passing" often included performing gender differently.[29] I opted to wear pink and purple button-down shirts and engaged in conversations about boy troubles, manicures, and pedicures. I also never responded to boys' occasional masculinist jokes that objectified girls. I sometimes nodded in agreement when Mr. Ross used the "boys will be boys" adage to justify his students' behavior and the male bravado that often laced the Homeland Security program. Such practices made my performance of gender acceptable within what I perceived to be a militarized, heteronormative space that valued gender conformity.[30] In

doing so, I communicated agreement with the militarized masculinities the school encouraged by glorifying war heroes as quintessential men.

In addition to these heteronormative performances of gender, I also felt pressured to engage in daily school rituals that built a sense of national belonging and nourished patriotic pride. Every morning at the school, for example, I stood alongside students and school staff as we recited the Pledge of Allegiance. From my standpoint, refusing to do so would have been read by those at Milton as disrespectful, if not as an act of betrayal to the nation and the U.S. military. Ms. Perez, for example, once reprimanded two students who talked through the Pledge of Allegiance, insisting, "You have to give the flag respect *because there's people losing their lives every day.* Families are being ripped apart because of that. So please, please give the flag your respect." Prior to my arrival at Milton, I had worked at schools where teachers and students typically ignored the Pledge of Allegiance or simply stood, *pro forma.* At Milton, I adjusted to a new school culture governed by different norms and thus regularly participated in this ritual to "give the flag respect" and honor the sacrifices made by U.S. soldiers.

I also showed more deference to military personnel than is typical in my day-to-day actions outside of the field, especially to the JROTC officers who walked through Milton's hallways with an air of importance. When school staff discussed soldiers as heroic warriors, I nodded in agreement. When Milton administrators talked about their partnership with the military base, I expressed surprise to mask my concern over this mangling of public schooling and the military. I even told a student that his camouflaged Air Jordans were "cool" to cover my startled shock at this militarized footwear. I never discussed, or revealed, my critiques of this deep militarization expressed in student apparel, course curricula, and presence of JROTC instructors. Teachers and students interpreted these performances as affirmations of my alignment with the militarized politics of the program.

Within this nationalist context, I negotiated my racial identity in particular ways.[31] As someone who is biracial, I have been read by high school students and teachers as white, nonwhite, and an ambiguous racial Other. Throughout this research study, I traversed this complicated racial "insiderness" and "outsiderness"[32] carefully, recognizing the benefits and hazards engendered by both. I was also acutely aware

that people's perceptions of my own racial identity changed in different contexts.

Homeland Security teacher Ms. Perez, herself a biracial woman, asked me on one of my first days at the school, "You're half, too, right?" I chose to affirm her question, which prompted several follow-up conversations about biracial hair and mixed-race families. Ms. Perez quickly opened up about her own family's history, particularly regarding her father's enlistment in the military to gain U.S. citizenship. My racial insiderness structured my relationship with Ms. Perez and shaped our conversations about our family histories and the kinds of educational opportunities suitable for Milton's students.

In addition, I aligned myself with Ms. Perez, acknowledging that she worked in a system often set up for her, and her students, to fail. If Ms. Perez exasperated a line about *these* students after a long, chaotic school day, I never pushed her to consider a less deficit and more affirming perspective of her students. Rather, I commiserated with her, drawing from my own horror stories working in schools also serving poor and working-class youth of color. In doing so, I showed my allegiance to her and that I was familiar with her day-to-day struggles for resources and autonomy.

I also read Ms. Perez as professionally isolated at Milton, as she spent most of the school day alone in her classroom despite her social personality. My regular presence at the school provided her with another adult with whom she could process her daily work, frustrations, and struggles in the classroom. As such, she openly confided in me the details of her personal and professional lives.

Given this alliance, I rarely critiqued teachers, opting to focus on the school's efforts that I could applaud. When teachers asked for my opinion of Milton's Homeland Security program, I praised what I could and carefully omitted my critiques. Occasionally I raised concerns about student fears, but I did so by asking school staff about the emotional implications of a program so intensely focused on terrorism and issues of national security. Framing my concerns as questions helped defuse these critiques. In other instances, if I wanted to further query a particular critique of mine, I used newspaper articles that questioned the program instead of posing the critique as my own. Each of these creative strategies allowed me to remain aligned with Milton school

staff, who came to trust me as an ally, and thus ensured my access to the school.

Although Ms. Perez immediately identified me as a biracial woman, other school staff seemed to read me as white or, at the very least, non-Black. I came to this conclusion based on how readily Milton administrators talked with me about the challenges they faced in trying to educate their "rough" and "rowdy" students. Rather than a threat, Milton's predominately white school staff read me as an ally who supported their school reform efforts and ideas about their "majority-minority" student body.

Milton school staff also seemed to read me as a young, white, middle-class graduate student whom they could teach (I was twenty-six years old at the time). From their perspective, they occupied expert positions not only at Milton High School but also of innovative school reform projects. As such, I approached school staff as authority figures, as people with, and in, power. To do so, I strategically disclosed my own struggles on a school reform project in Syracuse using middle-class manners and a middle-class voice. Like a student, I politely asked questions seeking their advice on how to improve schools. Positioning themselves as my mentors, school administrators readily responded to my queries, offering detailed advice on how to improve Syracuse public schools. Situating myself as a student meant that school administrators never seemed to imagine me as a threat or, at the very least, a person with serious critiques of the Homeland Security program.

I was not just any white, middle-class student, though. I was necessarily viewed as a U.S. citizen and as an American. This became most visible when Jerry Nash of Northrop Grumman explained to me, "You're not going to give a foreign-born a national security clearance. And these foreign-borns will come to the U.S. and study and learn and go back to China and Japan." Superficially, this comment could be read as a matter-of-fact statement about who is issued a security clearance and who is not. In the context of our conversation, and located in the politics of the program, however, I recognized that Mr. Nash insinuated that "foreign-borns" were perceived as less trustworthy and more apt to show loyalty to their home countries. Had I been an immigrant or a more visible person of color, Mr. Nash's commentary may have been more guarded. In this exchange, I chose to suppress my intellectual critiques of this claim and conceal my status as the daughter of a "foreign-born."

Furthermore, based on how I was integrated into everyday school life, students read me as an authority figure despite my efforts to position myself as a "student working on a big project for school." When I first began observing Ms. Perez's class, for example, I insisted students call me Nicole. Yet, conditioned to typical adult–youth power relations and dominant forms of showing adults respect in schools, Ms. Perez always referred to me as Ms. Nguyen. Students followed Ms. Perez's lead. Moreover, even though I sat in the back of the classroom with students, Ms. Perez sometimes asked across the room if I knew more information about a topic, clearly treating me more as an authority figure than as a student. For Ms. Perez, this process positioned me as her adult ally and, in turn, provided openings for her to critique her students at the end of class.

Because students sometimes found Ms. Perez and me chatting before and after class, they initially read me as a friend of their teacher and thus her ally. Given these perceived (and real) adult–youth power relations, they guarded their personal narratives in focus groups and interviews until they felt safe discussing their experiences outside the "official" story. To facilitate this process, I often emphasized that our sessions would be kept confidential and their identities anonymous. Even when students felt less threatened by my adult status and relationship with Ms. Perez, their reading of me as a white, middle-class woman meant that students framed their experiences in particular ways. For instance, although I occasionally overheard Black students complaining about the racist origins of being called "boy" by their teachers, their understandings of racism never explicitly surfaced in interviews or focus groups. Students may have had critiques about how racism organized their experiences in school but interpreted such talk as impermissible or subject to punishment in the classroom. My adult status and perceived white- and middle-class-ness shaped how students talked about their experiences in and how I made sense of their experiences.

Though we rarely engaged in discussions about issues of race in the school, the strategic disclosure of my work in city schools gave me some credibility among students. While they were not shy about initiating me into the school through a variety of jokes and pranks, students respected the fact that I had previously worked with students of color. I worked to ally myself with students particularly in the absence of teachers, commiserating with them over unfair discipline policies, the

limited number of bathrooms, and rude teachers barking in the hall-ways for students to get to class. One student even handed me her report card and exasperated, "Such bullshit!" Students rarely asked my opin-ion of the program and, instead, talked more about their own experi-ences, lodged complaints about school discipline, and inquired about life in Syracuse.

From my perspective, these performances of my student status, au-thority, patriotism, race, citizenship, and gender built rapport with re-search participants and facilitated the research process. My decisions to conceal or disclose aspects of my intellectual politics also structured my relationships with research participants and organized the kinds of conversations in which we engaged.

I never applied, or performed, these "social lies" uniformly across par-ticipants, as I continually negotiated these decisions to "cover," "pass," "front," or "mask" my intellectual critiques while in the field. As in my everyday life, I navigated these performances according to the intellec-tual politics of my research participants and the various social situations I confronted. Mr. Hopkins, for example, was one research participant with whom I occasionally debated the merits and dangers of the Home-land Security program. At an off-campus lunch one day, I disclosed some of my intellectual critiques about Milton and its school reform ef-forts to him. In this private but casual discussion, I questioned "what all of this focus on homeland security meant for kids." Mr. Hopkins enter-tained this critique thoughtfully, even pondering aloud if the Homeland Security curriculum was "doing bad things" or if "it all came down to how teachers presented the information." If, however, I interpreted re-search participants as less willing to engage in these critical conversa-tions than Mr. Hopkins, I chose not to reveal my concerns about school securitization, neoliberalization, and militarization.

Retrospectively, I recognize the productive and fruitful nature of strategically disclosing, concealing, and performing my intellectual poli-tics while at Milton. Yet, preoccupied with my own security in a mili-tarized environment I read as highly regulative of social difference, I failed to adequately anticipate these minute yet significant encounters that I would continually negotiate throughout my research study. That is, I had not planned, at the outset of this research study, how, exactly, I would negotiate my intellectual politics in the field. Compelled, how-

ever, to respond to inquiries, questions, and stories posed by participants in the field, I quickly chose what to disclose and how. I framed my research study through a language of U.S. public school reform. I strategically disclosed my own work on a school reform project while concealing my concerns about the intensified relationship between national security, war, and public schools. I found ways to respond to participants that did not critique what I witnessed.

The c/overt maneuvers I deployed in in the field undress how the long-coveted principle of full disclosure in the research encounter is a myth. This unattainable precedent solidified by totalizing debates about research ethics ignores, even negates, these banal points of negotiation that entail strategic disclosures, concealments, and performances at every turn. These messy and tense negotiations contour every research study, overt or otherwise. Researchers must take seriously the covert methods used in overt research studies.

The Collision of Ethical, Personal, and Political Responsibilities

My insistence on mapping this gray space does not mean that I dismissed the ethical and emotional quandaries such concealments and disclosures generated in the field. I continually affirmed my responsibility to learn more about Milton and recognized the strategic disclosures and concealments that made this study possible. Yet I spent weekends agonizing over my decisions. As I built relationships with teachers and students, I struggled to calm a nagging angst that often pushed me to want to announce my intellectual critiques of the program. Driven by these anxieties, I managed to carve out small openings to question the politics of Milton's Homeland Security program with some research participants like Mr. Hopkins. Despite these small revelations, I continued to conceal most of my intellectual politics with most people at the school.

I contemplated the ethics of these decisions, their effects on participants, and what it might mean for them to later read this book. I debated the benefits, trade-offs, and harm engendered by my strategic disclosures and concealments. These anxieties regularly wormed their way into my field journal:

> At my last Homeland Security program celebration, Mr. Hopkins applauded my research efforts to national security industry partners,

school staff, and students. He enthused that my research would be the most "authentic" because of the "hundreds of hours" I spent in meetings, in the classroom, and at events. He awarded me a Certificate of Appreciation and a Milton Homeland Security mug, gestures that underscored his gratitude for the time I took to learn about the Homeland Security program.

This moment stung. I was surrounded by teachers, administrators, and high-level security industry folks I had come to appreciate and recognize as well-intended individuals invested in Milton students. I enjoyed their company and my experiences with them. Yet, I also knew that the complicated story emerging from my time at Milton that I would soon write would be read as an act of betrayal—the ultimate breach of trust and loyalty. Mr. Hopkins, after all, participated in this research study because he anticipated a narrative that would serve as "good PR for the school." Mr. Arnold even declared a newspaper article critiquing the program a "personal attack" and a "horrifying stab" at him.

Given these concerns, I hope that school staff recognize that I did, in Mr. Arnold's words, "look at what [teachers] were doing for children." In this spirit, I also hope that school staff do not immediately reject my critiques as a "horrifying stab" or "personal attack," but thoughtfully consider my concerns and their own daily work. While I feel a sense of responsibility to Milton staff, I also recognize that telling this story—in all its messy complications and critiques—is necessary for the U.S. to better understand the growing relationship between the national security industry and public education.

Clutching my Certificate of Appreciation, I struggled to process this moment as I drove away from the school. Covert tactics, after all, "make for good data, but bad consciences."[33] The moral, ethical, and political demand to document Milton's practices conflicted with my sense of personal responsibility to my research participants.

In the field, I used "social significance" and attention to power relations as my barometer of ethical research to adjudicate my decisions. Yet I continually felt torn between the necessity to reveal this securitized schooling and my relationships with research participants. Despite my own concerns about Milton's Homeland Security program, divorcing my data from the complex lives of research participants

seemed nearly impossible, especially as I came to know and care about school staff and students. It is this tension between good intentions, critical inquiry, and ideological difference that drove, and still drives, my anxiety. While research participants may interpret this book as a "horrifying stab" or "personal attack," sanitizing my critical findings would betray my commitment to creating less securitized educational opportunities for the young people in our communities.[34]

My irreconcilable anxiety in conducting this overt research study is instructive. It cautions us against imagining covert and overt research as diametrically opposed, both ethically and practically. My experiences at Milton illustrate how researchers carrying out overt research projects always negotiate what to disclose or conceal, and how. In navigating this muddy terrain, social scientists must wade through power relations, potential harm, conflicts of interest, and "social significance." To do so, researchers must continually interrogate what constitutes c/overt research and the complex ethical codes that guide our work, a reflexive process that must saturate all stages of research.

Feminist approaches to qualitative research methods recognize that our dynamic and relational social locations—our place in society—necessarily frame our research and the meaning-making process. As my concealments and strategic disclosures reveal, my own social history, intellectual politics, and positionality greatly figured into how I built relationships with research participants and made sense of their experiences. As such, I engaged in reflexive practices like participating in collaborative meaning-making sessions with colleagues to analytically consider the effects of my, and my participants', social locations, intellectual politics, covert methods, and uneven relations of power.[35]

Heeding the cautions of the Tuskegee Experiment and calls to document unknown, or hidden, workings of the government, this school ethnography details daily life at Milton, a narrative enabled and shaped by my strategic disclosures and concealments. In this spirit, I now turn to Milton's history and the social contexts that gave rise to its creation of a specialized Homeland Security program.

This Is Your Future

Militarizing the Dreams of Students

On one of my first days at Milton, I found the school's "resident historian" and former Homeland Security program coordinator, Brad Sanford, brewing a pot of coffee in the Homeland Security office. Though Mr. Sanford had retired the year before, he occasionally used the office to attend to paperwork related to a local community college's Homeland Security program. As I settled into the office, Mr. Sanford leaned back in his chair and slowly said, "You have to understand the history of this program." As Mr. Sanford reached for his cup of coffee, an enthusiastic Mr. Hopkins entered the Homeland Security office, taking a seat next to me. For the next forty-five minutes, the two documented Milton's history, sometimes arguing over the details, notoriety, and image of the school and community. In this spirited conversation, the duo traced how this school reform history intersected with new pressures from the national security industry. These social forces led Milton to establish its Homeland Security program through public–private partnerships with the security industry and federal agencies. Stakeholders imagined this school reform effort as an "innovative" and "engaging" tactic to "eliminate the achievement gap," increase graduation rates, and improve the culture of the school, while providing a "pipeline" of skilled national security workers.

Meanwhile, students articulated their own motivations for joining the program, including excitement over field trips, the desire to feel a sense of belonging in the school, and eagerness to prepare for future careers. Eleventh grader Tiffany, for example, explained how the opportunity to attend field trips and the promise of an "important" career that "makes a difference" convinced her to enroll in the Homeland Security program at the end of eighth grade:

> Ms. Thomas and Mr. Ross came to our middle school in eighth grade and did a PowerPoint and it was field trips, field trips, field trips! And

it said, "Your future! Your future!" And that's what caught my eye. Future and field trips. 'Cause who doesn't like field trips? And your future: you're not thinking about it in eighth grade, but once we hit ninth and tenth and eleventh grade, we see why Homeland Security is so important. . . . When you do something that really is for your country, you are important no matter what you do. If you're fire department, if you're a firefighter, anything. You are important. You have a job to do. Whatever you're doing affects somebody. Therefore, I feel like the government or the Army would be the only way I would do something that I really like doing. I like doing stuff that's important. That makes a difference.

For Tiffany, the Homeland Security program served as a vehicle through which she could train to work "for the government or the Army," the "only way" she "would do something" she "really like[d] doing" and "that's important." Tiffany's participation in the program enabled her to undertake the only kind of work that "really is for your country," that "makes a difference," and that makes a person "important."

As Mr. Sanford, Mr. Hopkins, and Tiffany narrated their enthusiasm for the Homeland Security program, I recognized the need to trace how students and school staff came to imagine a national security education as an innovative and engaging form of public schooling. To do so, I first heeded Mr. Sanford's advice by plotting Milton's history. My genealogical excavation began with the school, which pointed me to the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts that shaped Milton and gave rise to its Homeland Security program.

Locating Milton High School

Milton High School lies in the greater D.C. metropolitan area, in the suburban town of Fort Milton, home to the Fort Peter Milton military base. Fort Milton is a part of Franklin County, one of the region's wealthiest counties. Yet, with the ongoing gentrification of D.C. and Baltimore, Franklin County also maintained one of the highest rates of poverty in the region. At the time of my fieldwork, this variegated economic geography played out in a deeply segregated way, pushing poor and working-class families into the neighborhoods feeding Milton schools.

To help me understand this segregated geography, Milton Middle

School principal Bob Smith described the community when he and academic performance coach Becky Saunders first arrived at the school a few years prior to my fieldwork:

> We came to a culture of generational poverty. And I'm born and raised in the county and it's very quadrant oriented. And each quadrant has its own issues. Here, this quadrant—which is now booming because of homeland security, you know, the whole military realignment around the country—is the forgotten part of the county.

In this "forgotten part of the county" struggling with "generational poverty," Milton High served more than two thousand students, 80 percent of whom were students of color, 40 percent of whom officially qualified for free or reduced-price lunch, 30 percent of whom came from military families, and 6 percent of whom were unhoused.[1]

Though a traditional public school, Milton High School is located on the edge of the Fort Milton military base. Military bases across the United States host 353 elementary, middle, and high schools. Local school districts operate 159 of these schools, known as public schools on military installations (PSMIs). The Department of Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) runs another 194 schools housed on military bases, which exclusively serve children from military families who carry military identification cards.[2] These 194 schools report directly to the DoDEA, not to local school districts. At the time of my fieldwork, Milton was a PSMI, meaning the local school district, Franklin County Public Schools (FCPS), ran the school. Like all other PSMIs, the military installation maintained no control over Milton, which functioned like a traditional public school and served students from nearby neighborhoods. PSMIs, in other words, are typical public schools that happen to be housed in buildings located on a military base.

Despite Milton's status as a typical public school, its location meant that students who arrived by bus, though civilians, were required to pass through a military checkpoint every morning. Upon students' arrival, military police officers boarded and surveilled the busses for what students called "suspicious people," a process common to most of the 159 PSMIs across the United States.[3] Eleventh grader Jared explained this process to me:

Every day we have to get checked. Like a person from the gate has to get on the bus to look, just like see if anyone was suspicious or anything. . . . Sometimes they might walk through the whole bus or sometimes just, like, look, just like that *[head scans room]*. We go through the gate, we're basically on-base. We're basically on base side.

As Jared's comment illustrates, students and school staff referred to the back of the school, which faced the military installation, as "base side." A matrix of yellow pylons, cement barriers, fencing, and the checkpoint demarcated the base's borders. In addition, although I drove to the public school on a public road to the "civilian side" entrance, I still passed through barbed wire–lined fencing draped with large metal signs that read, "Warning! Restricted Area" and "This area patrolled by military working dogs."

Homeland Security program coordinator Mr. Hopkins helped me better understand this militarized geography as we walked through the school to the Homeland Security office:

We are one of the largest schools in the region. We are one of the largest in Franklin County Public Schools. You are, right now, on a military base. Yes, here *[pointing to the ground],* the funny thing is where you drove, you're on public land. You then walked across base lines marked by the yellow pylons. So right now, you are on military grounds.

Though my car traveled on public land, my feet trafficked across the military base while in the school. Though most military bases do house public schools with similar arrival processes,[4] it took some time to adjust to Milton's location. Mr. Hopkins sometimes joked about the school's location, even teasing at one meeting that our conversation in the principal's conference room would be secure because we were located on-base.

Despite its location, Milton maintained no formal ties with the military base: run by FCPS, Milton operated as a typical public high school that happened to be housed on a military base. The military base never played a role in the day-to-day operations of the school and never governed Milton's educational decision-making processes. Milton, in other

FIGURE 6. *A physical barrier in the school's faculty parking lot dividing the military base and public property.*

words, was a traditional public school under the authority of the local school district.

According to my survey of Homeland Security programs, Milton's was one of the only programs housed on a military installation. Yet, like Milton, almost every other Homeland Security program relied on ongoing partnerships with the military and national security industry. The deep network of military bases, security companies, and federal agencies across the United States meant that the military and national security industry often existed in close proximity to public schools. Most schools took advantage of these nearby resources to build and sustain their Homeland Security programs.

The town of Fort Milton also lies within a larger national security zone. Much of the black world—the sites where the U.S. government's secret operations of surveillance, detention, and torture occur without U.S. public or congressional oversight—unfolds in this region and "extends in all directions from its locus in Northern Virginia" as well as across the United States.[5] In fact, although the national security

industry has concentrated its resources in the Mid-Atlantic, it has increasingly dispersed its operations throughout the United States and elsewhere, from the relocation of the U.S. Cyber Command to Georgia to the NSA's opening of its Utah Data Center to store and process intercepted signals intelligence to Halliburton's building of Camp Delta, the permanent detention center at Guantánamo Bay.[6] The Mid-Atlantic's national security hub spreads its tentacles across the United States and even beyond its borders.

Trevor Paglen describes this black world geography this way:

> All of the big-five intelligence agencies have their headquarters in [D.C.'s] suburban outskirts. North of D.C., out toward Baltimore, lies the National Security Agency, a looming glass and steel complex of buildings, antennas, barbed wire, and blast walls in the forest of the Maryland suburbs. . . . Just across the river on the Virginia side lies the Central Intelligence Agency, whose name remains synonymous with the Langley suburb surrounding it. Further south is the Pentagon and its own intelligence agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency. Those agencies are the monuments of the intelligence community, behemoth organizations occupying so much space they have freeway exits named for them. Every single one of these agencies, moreover, has numerous and far less visible satellite offices and sub-agencies in its orbit.[7]

The towering presence of the military base and these intelligence structures hardly made themselves known in my everyday life in the field: large buildings hid gently behind barbed wire fencing draped in ivy and tucked behind a row of trees. Shiny new strip malls dotting the highways and the Mid-Atlantic's vast forestry made Booz Allen buildings, the glass windows of the NSA, other "monuments of the intelligence community," and the camouflaged tanks roaming Fort Milton and other military bases easy to miss. Martrez, for example, revealed, "Even though I live so close to the military base, I didn't know what Fort Milton was. I mean, I knew I drove past it sometimes, but never paid attention to it." Without knowledge of the U.S. black world's operations and its violent global reach, much of Fort Milton's landscape remained largely invisible to Milton students until they embarked on field trips to these secret sites or studied them in class. Students learned to covet

these sites as potential future workplaces and heroic defenders of national security.

These ever-present yet hidden sites made me anxious, if not panicky. Drawing from his own experiences documenting these black sites, Paglen explains, "When you know what's behind the façade of everyday landscapes, the familiar architecture becomes unsettling, even frightening."[8] Perhaps I faced no immediate danger, and perhaps my U.S. body confronted few, if any, of the violences engendered in the black world, but those drives across the military–security landscape of the United States always produced heightened awareness and anxiety. The U.S. national security state made itself known in these anxious moments: I felt the eyes of countless surveillance cameras mounted to building corners, lampposts, and hidden elsewheres searing through my car's rear windows. I watched the NSA's police force carefully document my license plate as I puttered along exploring the region's black sites. I feared a wrong turn into a restricted area, weaving around security boulevards leading up to the nation's most revered organizations. And I recorded the camouflaged everything that I passed en route to school each morning as a way to make real these invisible sites. The video I shot, however, is unremarkable: mile after mile of tree-lined pavement and my distraught narration of these hidden-in-plain-sight national security operations.

This military–security geography was normalized and rendered invisible to Milton school staff and students, who took little notice of the military checkpoint they passed through each morning or the looming military base just outside of Milton's walls. Tenth grader Aliyah, who had recently transferred to Milton, told me, for instance, "To be honest, it doesn't really feel like we go to school on a military base. It's just like any regular public school to me." My own field notes reflect this same rapid normalization process as my initial, almost hyper writings about Milton's military–security landscape diminished over time. The more time I spent at the school, the less I documented students' camouflaged clothing, military belts, and camouflaged book bags, along with the towering military base.[9] As weeks passed, my desire to archive such banal instances of militarism dissipated.

These militarized scenes faded into the backdrop, only momentarily returning to the foreground by odd juxtapositions: shopping for groceries with signs reminding me that the area was patrolled by military

canine units; watching administrators call military police to help handle school situations; fumbling with military–security jargon and acronyms students used until these vocabularies became a part of my regular lexicon; scribbling in the margins of my field journal the names of guns, weapons, and other military hardware students discussed to later Google. Over time, my almost frenzied anxiety over these militarized scenes eventually retreated, quietly pulsating in the back of my mind, a pulsating that eventually sought to reckon with ghostly matters, the "seething" and "lingering inheritance[s]" of colonialism, racism, and state terror that made themselves known in everyday militarized life at Milton.[10]

These momentary lapses also made visible the banal militarism at work at Milton High School.[11] Military clothing donned with school insignia, barbed wire–lined fencing, military checkpoints, and JROTC students in military uniform served as everyday reminders of the U.S. military at the school. These performances normalized militarism, celebrated soldiers as national heroes, and defined honor in terms of military service.

Additionally, these militarized scenes mapped onto instances of what feminist geographer Cindi Katz refers to as banal terrorism, the "everyday, routinized, barely noticed reminders of terror or the threat of an always already presence of terrorism in our midst."[12] "Banal terrorism," Katz further articulates, "works the circuitry of ontological insecurity, normalizing fear and the responses to it across geographic scale." I observed such circuitry in Milton's own responses to normalized fear: police patrolled the hallways and conducted hall sweeps; school administrators detained unruly and insubordinate students in the school's "Decision-Making Room"; school staff put in constant rotation timed fire drills, active shooter drills, and tornado drills; custodians removed the outside handles of school doors and always kept them locked from the inside; Raptor's vSoft sex offender database registry visitor management and tracking software protected students from "unwanted" intruders; canine units searched lockers, book bags, and suspicious students for weapons and drugs; a school lockdown shelter-in-place bag sat in an office next to a poster that read, "If you see it, if you hear it, have the courage to pick up the phone and call"; posters of emergency procedures donned different walls beneath American flags,

reminding teachers and students what to do if there happened to be a fire, an intruder, a tornado, a shooting . . .

As in airports and city streets, these mundane daily practices normalized fear and responses to it. These practices both performed security and highlighted the ever-present possibility of a shooting, terrorist attack, or natural disaster. Peter Nyers refers to this process of signaling security while reminding people of their insecurity as security's "double movement."[13] At Milton, this double movement reaffirmed the need for militarized security practices to secure the school.

Importantly, Katz offers that banal terrorism is an "obstreperous offspring" of banal nationalism, the ideological foundations produced through embodied habits of daily life that "flag" nationhood and nourish patriotism.[14] At Milton, these banal performances of nationhood included the singing of *The Star-Spangled Banner* at school meetings, daily recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, and performance of the national anthem at school sports events. Through these mundane and everyday flaggings, banal nationalism crafts the concept of the "homeland" laced with nationalist pride invested in defending that homeland.[15] Banal nationalism thus participates in the production of us-versus-them logics, designating the "homeland" in need of protection from the dangerous Other.

Together, nationalist pride and everyday reminders of insecurity work together to form the "latest apparatus of hegemonic consent" mobilized for a war waged in the name of national security.[16] In this way, banal terrorism's reliance on and use of (banal) nationalism must not be missed. In the current context of permanent warfare, we must take American nationalism, U.S. militarism, and terror to be always already mapped onto one another in the mundane aspects of everyday life pulsating beneath more visible articulations. Within this landscape, the United States deploys fetishized performances of security, glorifies the military, and manipulates emotional attachments to the nation.

Grounding banal terrorism in nationalism works to capture the insipid yet complex ways the logics of militarism, securitism, and patriotism infused everyday life at Milton. Such an analytical maneuver can help us make sense of the school's mundane practices that performed security, normalized fear, and privileged a militarized response to secure the homeland.[17] This framework is useful in helping unpack, for

FIGURE 7. *A decorated corner of Ms. Perez's classroom.*

instance, the material, performative, and ideological work of military-uniformed JROTC students presenting the colors under the watchful eye of their Sergeant and security cameras within a fortressed school inside a citadel nation, the state-of-the-art surveillance cameras that monitored students and staff above murals of waving American flags and the Statue of Liberty, locked classroom doors and hall sweeps conducted as students recited the Pledge of Allegiance in unison, and specially designed Homeland Security courses aimed at transmitting both "American" pride and fear of a terrorist attack. Each of these routines highlighted how the generative mixing of fear, performances of security, love of nation, duty to country, and militarism at Milton—made familiar at other schools across the nation—normalized fear and panicky responses to that fear. As such, students sought to enlist in fighting terror/ism and defending their home/land as citizen-soldiers.

Although the military base played no formal role at Milton, the inclusion of these military and national security values and practices greatly shaped the everyday culture of Milton High School and provided the emotional and ideological foundations necessary for a program focused on national security. In addition to this local geography, as Fort Milton and the local communities shifted beginning in the early 2000s as a result of the booming security industry, so, too, did Milton High School.

Homeland Security as a Community Revitalization Tool

In an early focus group, district administrator Barbara Foster mentioned that Milton's Homeland Security program "was such a sell because the Fort Milton Group[18] knew that BRAC [Base Realignment and Closure] was coming." I had only heard of BRAC in passing, so I asked Ms. Foster and her colleagues to explain what these BRAC measures entailed and how they impacted the Milton community. Wanting to learn more about what made the Homeland Security program "such a sell," I scoured local and national reports about this military project. Ms. Foster, Mr. Sanford, and local documents provided insight into these shifts.

In 2005, the Department of Defense announced its BRAC plan, aimed at closing and consolidating several military bases to cut costs. The Fort Milton military base absorbed a large number of personnel and resources from these closed bases. As new defense and intelligence

programs moved to and expanded at Fort Milton, BRAC welcomed thousands of defense workers holding high-paying jobs in cybersecurity, intelligence, information assurance, and engineering. Industry and newspaper reports estimated that 80 percent of relocated families required medium- or high-cost housing in the towns surrounding the base. Given the proposed expansion of the Fort Milton base and the anticipated "non-BRAC" growth as a result of the flourishing intelligence and cybersecurity industries in the Mid-Atlantic region, the local community awaited the relocation of tens of thousands of middle-class families.

This expected expansion coincided with the intensification of the suburbanization of poverty already under way along the Baltimore–D.C. corridor. Middle-class families returning to newly gentrified Baltimore and D.C. pushed poor and working-class families into suburban towns like Fort Milton. These forced migrations generated the "generational poverty" within the Milton community.

Between 2005 and 2012, enrollment at Milton High School swelled by nearly 50 percent. Milton held classes in overflow bungalows to house its bulging student body, an accommodation reflective of the rapid growth of the area. I watched as gated super luxury condominiums popped up next to old, dilapidated homes. Roads swelled, unable to handle the sharp increase in traffic. I rerouted my drive to school as local public works projects widened main thoroughfares, which often caused long delays in my commute. I sat overwhelmed with emotion in the school's library as Milton students painfully grieved the loss of a fellow student. This death marked the school's tenth student fatality in two years, mostly pedestrians hit by cars in busy intersections unequipped to cope with the new levels of traffic. Such tragic news came on a day shortly after the Sandy Hook shootings, at a time when social media flooded with rumors of an impending school shooting at Milton, heightening grief and panic.

Before BRAC ushered in these changes to the larger metropolitan area, local newspapers reported that community members viewed the town of Fort Milton, particularly the Hanover Square strip mall, as seedy, unsafe, and rife with crime. The community blamed transient single soldiers for these problems. Because Fort Milton expected an influx of thousands of high-level security employees and their families as a result of BRAC, the town felt pressured to rebrand itself as a family-

friendly area. Together, then Fort Milton installation commander Colonel McNeil and then Franklin County executive officer Mark Otto argued that improving the struggling high school was a crucial part of making the area marketable to such middle-class families relocating to accept high-paying security industry jobs. News coverage of BRAC suggested that the anticipated arrival of well-educated, well-paid middle-class families sparked the county's desire to remake the struggling town and its schools, signaling the connection between school reform efforts and the socio-spatial restructuring of the area for middle-class families. Within this larger regional push, Fort Milton residents and local businesses advocated for the town's own community renewal projects.

Newspapers also reported that Franklin County officials specifically aimed their "revitalization" efforts at the dilapidated and largely disinvested Hanover Square, drawing, explicitly, from the broken windows theory. The broken windows theory, as it was applied in Fort Milton, focused on policing minor nuisances like litter and noise that purportedly escalated to major crimes in the area.[19] Former county executive officers Susan Lexington and Mark Otto blamed litter, broken windows, long grass, and rats as contributors to various shootings and violent crimes in the Hanover Square area.[20] As a part of Fort Milton's broken windows approach, community members called for increased policing to reduce crime and for "community beautification" projects to revitalize the area. Revamping public education, they argued, would be a part of these beautification efforts.

Despite these expected expansions and planned projects, Milton teachers and administrators lamented that most middle-class families relocating to Fort Milton chose to live near other schools with better reputations or to reside in nearby counties with seemingly higher-performing schools. Many middle-class families, for instance, moved to the Abbey Ridge neighborhood, a planned community situated right across the street from the military base and Milton High. Despite this location, FCPS districted Abbey Ridge children to attend the whiter, more middle-class FCPS school just down the road (65 percent white, 10 percent qualified for free or reduced-price lunch). Newspapers (and Mr. Sanford) reported that these families purchased their homes with the promise that their children would *not* be zoned for Milton High (20 percent white, 40 percent qualified for free or reduced-price lunch), an obstreperous demand anchored in racism and classism. After a

decade of court appeals, school board hearings, and planning, FCPS finally redistricted Abbey Ridge children to attend Milton beginning in 2008, a move met with great hostility and anger from Abbey Ridge parents. Many of these students eventually enrolled in the school's coveted college-oriented International Baccalaureate (IB) program, which buffered them from Milton's less privileged youth.

Abbey Ridge parents were not alone in their ardent disavowal of Milton. Teachers often described Milton as a "difficult," "rough," and "rowdy" school. When I asked school staff what made the school "difficult," the short replies I received were "the clientele" and "the demographic." FCPS administrator Ms. Foster, a white woman, provided a bit more explanation:

> NICOLE: So what made Milton difficult?
> MS. FOSTER: Well, it was rapidly becoming a majority-minority
> school. One-third of the population was public housing. But when
> I got there in the 1990s, it was very much getting to be very much
> minority-majority school. Probably hit its peak somewhere in the
> early 2000s. But one-third was public housing, one-third was military, and one-third was your normal Johnny and Janey Q. Public.[21]

Because teachers knew I had experience working in city schools, they assumed I understood the taken-for-granted racialized and classed subtext of these comments, which required little elaboration: the presence of a "minority-majority" student body with only a few "Johnny and Janey Q. Publics" meant that Milton was "rough" and "rowdy."

Milton long served a more diverse student body than the rest of Franklin County Public Schools which helped feed its public persona as a "bad" school. The heightened suburbanization of poverty in towns along the Baltimore–D.C. corridor meant that the Fort Milton area and its surrounding neighborhoods simultaneously absorbed relocated national security families and an increasing number of poor families, exceeding those living in nearby city centers.[22] Sequestered to the "forgotten part of the county," many of these displaced students attended Milton, bringing with them the racialized and classed reputation as "rough" and "rowdy." Many of these students accounted for the dramatic rise in Milton's student population.

Students and school staff debated whether Milton deserved its notorious reputation as a dangerous school. Program coordinator Mr. Hopkins declared that Milton was a "shithole" and "pretty poopy," especially in the 1990s. Mr. Sanford, however, insisted that a small cohort of "well-performing kids" always anchored the school. Like Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Sanford, some agreed that Milton's reputation was warranted while others insisted that this reputation emerged solely from racist and classist interpretations of Milton's demographics.

Martrez and Tyrell, two Black tenth graders, struggled to locate the origins of their school's reputation. Yet, unlike school adults, they offered an analysis that accounted for race and class:

> TYRELL: Yeah, everybody try to make it out—like for some reason, any time I tell somebody out of [Franklin] County, or they go to school somewhere else in the County they're like, "You go to Milton?" And they say, "I heard there's a whole bunch of gangs and everything." And I'm like, "What are you talking about? I walk through the hallways every day. I don't see anything." . . .
>
> MARTREZ: Here, we got Riverside and Milton Village [public housing units] down the street, so, like, that's the only thing you hear about, like, kids coming from the projects.
>
> NICOLE: So where do you think the reputation comes from then?
>
> MARTREZ: That's it right there. Probably Riverside and Milton Village.

Ms. Harris, one of Milton's few Black teachers, affirmed the boys' interpretation of Milton's reputation. I only met her in passing when she interrupted my conversation with a white mathematics teacher about the school's notoriety:

> MS. HARRIS: It has to do with the population of students. You've got a bunch of Black kids. People think they're out of control all the time. And FARMS [students eligible for free and reduced-price lunch]. We have a large population of FARMS. We also have the largest population too. We have a bunch of Black kids. We've got one of the largest schools in the county. And they don't support us. It's only when [Principal] Young came into the building that they started even showing support.
>
> NICOLE: And why with him?

MS. HARRIS: 'Cause he's a white guy. I'm gonna be honest with you.
   He's a white guy.
NICOLE: Oh, because the last principal was Black.
MS. HARRIS: 'Cause we had a Black assistant principal and a Black
   principal before Young.

In this brief but pointed exchange, Ms. Harris asserted that Milton's notorious reputation had little to do with the kinds of teaching and learning under way at the school. Rather, Milton's poor and working-class student-of-color demographics—reduced to the FARMS acronym—largely shaped the community's view of the school.

Like Tyrell, other students remained perplexed by Milton's reputation because their own experiences clashed with this dominant "rough" and "rowdy" rendering. Students even asked me what gave Milton this infamy. Derek, a white eleventh grader, conversely, insisted that Milton deserved its reputation:

> We're one of the, in all honesty, according to national, state, and county averages, we're one of the worst schools in the county. . . .
> I think overall we have a decent school but it's been on the downhill ever since it started. It's never had a good reputation.

Following Derek's negative sentiments, some school staff even referred to working at Milton as a "stepping-stone" where they could "put in time" and "prove" themselves by working in a "tough environment." In fact, a few Milton teachers like Ms. Thomas quickly rose to leadership positions within and outside the district because of their experiences at the school.

Given these enduring public perceptions of Milton, first-year principal George Young[23] and teachers expressed a keen interest in changing the school's long-standing reputation as violent and gang ridden. To do so, they spotlighted the school's International Baccalaureate (IB) program, Advanced Placement (AP) courses, and Homeland Security program. In fact, Mr. Young explained that the "Homeland Security program had a very good reputation when people were concerned with Milton High School. The Homeland Security program has enjoyed a pretty solid relationship with the community and has had a positive impact on per-

ceptions." For Mr. Young, the Homeland Security program contributed to small gains in Milton's reputation.

Given what I had read in fear-filling newspapers and online forums, I expected to find Milton chaotic and dangerous on my first visit. Yet, during my time at Milton, I experienced a friendly and inviting school that was clean and orderly. As an adult visitor, I never felt unsafe, and students always treated me with respect. Though I observed fights and witnessed police aggressively (and unnecessarily) handcuffing and arresting students, these incidents remained rare and rather isolated. Some students complained to me about fights in school, but most reaffirmed that these were not regular occurrences and that all students benefited from Milton's diversity. I found the school and its students to be a vibrant community of learners with teachers invested in their students' success. Still, Milton's tarnished reputation in the community remained intact throughout my time at the school.

Spurred on by Milton's struggle to revamp its image, by the BRAC plan, and by the boom in the national security industry, defense contractor Northrop Grumman pushed for a STEM-focused magnet program at Milton High School in 2006. This followed pressure from local, state, and military leaders who pursued a magnet program at Milton to "bolster the school's academic reputation" and "attract thousands of defense workers."[24] Northrop Grumman indicated that it was willing to commit "funds and personnel" to develop a STEM-focused magnet program at Milton, along with other interested stakeholders like the NSA. Magnet programs serve high-performing students regardless of where they live within the school district. Milton High School, however, eventually adopted a Homeland Security Trademark, a themed program available only to interested students already at the school. By developing this Trademark, FCPS sought to improve the school, repair its tarnished reputation, and stay competitive with magnet programs that threatened to pull "strong students" away from Milton.

Milton's Homeland Security program aligned with the district's larger move to install either a magnet program or themed Trademark program at each of its high schools through partnerships with local businesses. Such school reforms in the county focused on "build[ing] strong partnerships with business and industry," a nod to the neoliberal influences informing corporatized school reform efforts across the globe.[25] At Milton,

defense contractors, security companies, and federal agencies partnered with the school to develop the Homeland Security program. These organizations steered the direction of the program, helped determine the curriculum, and provided resources and expertise to support the school.

Struggles over community revitalization, the school's racialized and classed context, and the amplified focus on national security contributed to the creation of Milton's Homeland Security program. Driven by these dynamic contexts and broader national conversations about public school reform, Milton school staff planned and implemented an educational pathway they thought best suited the needs of their "rough" and "rowdy" students.

From Career Pathways to Homeland Security

Milton's Homeland Security program emerged from a much longer school reform history beyond that of the immediate pressures imposed by BRAC revitalization measures and national security industry desires. The Homeland Security program originated from Career Pathways, a late-1990s school improvement program at Milton that focused on connecting classroom learning to future careers. During this era, Milton divided students into smaller learning communities based on their career interests to prepare students for jobs after graduation. State and federal grants aimed at improving the region's struggling schools made Career Pathways possible, a program spearheaded by new "nononsense" principal Jenny Snyder.

A longtime teacher and Career Pathways coordinator, Mr. Sanford explained that when Principal Snyder arrived at Milton in 1999, she specifically focused on controlling student behavior before turning to the school's academics. According to Mr. Sanford, the school district endowed Principal Snyder, a Black woman, with "far-ranging powers of suspension and expulsion. You had a problem, get rid of the problem." At this time, the "notorious late-'90s era," several teachers and media outlets framed Milton and its students as "out of control" with interracial fighting, rife with gang violence, and struggling with low academic performance. In response, FCPS authorized Principal Snyder to take unprecedented measures to "regain control" of the school by suspending or expelling "disruptive" students. In addition to these measures aimed at banishing students from school, Principal Snyder requested a mili-

tary police presence to patrol the hallways, monitor the cafeteria, and sit in on JROTC classes. These measures reconfigured school culture as Principal Snyder directed school resources toward hiring more police officers and installing security cameras.

During this time, Milton's demographics "did a 180,"[26] shifting from a predominately white and working-class school to a poor and working-class "minority-majority" student body. This shift contributed to Milton's disreputable image, particularly as teachers—unprepared to educate this new student body—turned to heavily policing students. Stories of interracial fights and subsequent student arrests made their way into local newspapers, intensifying Milton's notoriety. Principal Snyder's role as a change principal with "far-ranging powers" served as a strong push to turn the school around and redeem its tarnished reputation. Although FCPS eventually pulled Principal Snyder's power to suspend and expel students at will after Milton's student "behavior problem" resolved, many of these harsh disciplinary tactics remained in place (though in new forms) during my tenure at Milton.

Several teachers welcomed this militarized policing of school space. Mathematics teacher Ms. Simmons, for example, told me that "there was an era where it was really bad and that's when we had a previous principal, Ms. Snyder, come in, and she kind of kicked butt." Despite this affirmation of these punitive tactics, political geographer Simon Dalby instructs that we must "point out the political choices implicit in how danger is articulated to various identities, and how specific institutions are in part shaped by the technical practices deemed appropriate responses to these specifications of danger."[27] Oftentimes race and class shape the fears of school adults, who then subject poor and working-class students of color to harsh punishments that fail to address the underlying causes of student misbehavior.

For Vice Principal Whiting, Milton's student demographics at the time of my fieldwork posed a significant problem for the school: "When you have about one-third of students living in poverty, various degrees of poverty, that makes it very rough." To eliminate "red zone behavior," including "physical altercations," "gang affiliation," and "theft," Milton continued some of the aggressive sanctions introduced by Principal Snyder in the 1990s.

After implementing these disciplinary measures, Mr. Sanford explained that Principal Snyder then turned her attention to the Career

Pathways program to improve academic achievement. This initiative followed the wave of national efforts aimed at creating smaller learning communities within large schools. During this era, smaller learning communities intended to foster a sense of belonging while preparing students for future jobs.[28] Mr. Sanford, who worked as the Career Pathways coordinator, described these efforts to me in detail as a part of his historical rendering of Milton:

> So the deal with that was to change the large school into smaller learning communities and with that in mind we created five smaller learning communities built around career pathways. . . . And they were identifiable by a shield that was a particular color *[pulls out a red Engineering shirt from a filing cabinet]*. And then all the kids and all the faculty would pick what they wanted and they would all wear these *[holds up the T-shirt]*. Arts was purple. Social Studies and Social Sciences was gold. Math and Science was blue. And Business was green. And the deal was to have all the kids that were in those Career Pathways in a smaller environment with the same teachers.

School administrators viewed the Career Pathways program as a way to excite students by connecting what they learned in the classroom to their future jobs and to build relationships between students and school staff.

Despite this initial enthusiasm, Milton's Career Pathways project failed because of a number of administrative issues, including the closing of the science wing for remodeling. Mr. Sanford explained that the remodel derailed the project: "You could not implement any of your plans because you were left with one-third of your building gone. Scheduling was always an issue." In fact, only teachers received the newly designed Career Pathways T-shirts. "The kids never got 'em," Mr. Sanford lamented. "Never got that far."

Yet, with the rise of the school's Parent Teacher Association (PTA), a new principal, a new superintendent, and several multi-million-dollar federal grants, Milton retried this effort through its Trademarks initiative. The Trademarks model sought to explicitly connect classroom instruction to workforce-related skills based on the industries and businesses in the local community. To do this, the school district designated each of its high schools with its own unique work-oriented theme

called a Trademark. Branded as the "new vo-tech of the 21st century," these Trademarks included Environmental Literacy, Global Leadership, Human Performance, and Homeland Security, among others. With the help of business partners, each school tailored a program of study based on its own unique Trademark, designing new courses and rewriting existing curricula.

Ms. Foster explained that to determine which Trademark a school would adopt, each school conducted surveys and consulted with local businesses to determine "what the community and industry could support." These forums built the public–private partnerships needed to create "industry-driven" programs. Following these initial conversations, each school developed a Team of Community Partners (TCP) composed of business representatives. TCPs provided the space for industry experts to provide ongoing support, resources, and recommendations to the school. At Milton, school administrators enlisted national security experts to participate in the school's TCP.

I asked school staff why Milton chose Homeland Security for its Trademark rather than another theme like STEM that nearby defense contractors could also support. Each time I asked, school staff met my questions with laugher. Normalized to the relevance and importance of national security in their daily lives, school adults expressed that Homeland Security was the "obvious" choice for Milton's Trademark:

> MR. SANFORD, *laughing at my question, commenting with enthusiasm*: What else should we have chosen?
> NICOLE: Global, wasn't there a Global Leadership? There's an Economics and Finance Trademark.
> MR. SANFORD: Global Leadership is up the street. But we grabbed Homeland Security first and said, "Nobody else can have it!"
> NICOLE, *laughing*: There are a couple that are almost Homeland Security, but not, not quite.
> MR. SANFORD, *in a proud tone*: Not quite. It's a sad second is all I can say.

Like Mr. Sanford, former Homeland Security teacher Ms. Thomas deemed Milton's choice of a Homeland Security Trademark an obvious one:

> It would just be *silly* to not do something that was homeland security related. Like, we, post-9/11, we knew that there was this really big

> market that was untapped. . . . We need a Homeland Security program
> here because we have all of these resources. We're on federal property.
> It just makes sense. Right? It was so obvious.

Mr. Ross further reinforced this "obvious" point to me a little more
gently: "It's a perfect fit. Perfect fit. This is smack dab in the middle
of the cyber triangle. Which is basically homeland security. And so if
we're trying to prepare these kids for careers, we gotta take advantage
of that." Mr. Sanford later echoed Mr. Ross, pressing, "You've got to get
courses to prepare kids for all these jobs and that's how we decided to
do Homeland Security." As these teachers emphasized, the presence
of the ever-expanding national security industry made a homeland
security–themed high school program a desirable, if not an altogether
"obvious," choice.

Although the Homeland Security Trademark was an "obvious" choice
for Milton, other nearby schools adopted Trademarks unrelated to na-
tional security like Environmental Literacy and Global Leadership with
the help of the *same,* and other, industry partners. These alternatives
point to how the Homeland Security Trademark was not an inevitable
outcome of Milton's geography. As schools adopted other Trademarks,
Milton's choices were not limited by any means to the "obvious" choice
of Homeland Security.

Although other choices were available, Milton was not alone in its
turn to national security. The particular emphasis on credentialing
young people for the national security industry, with a specific focus on
cybersecurity, permeated many U.S. schools. Milton's Homeland Secu-
rity program was part of both statewide and regional efforts to prepare
students for their future national security careers.

At the state level, the State Department of Education's (SDE) Career
and Technology Education (CTE) initiative emphasized its cybersecu-
rity pathways at the time of my fieldwork. Through CTE, high school
students chose to complete a program of study designed to meet the vo-
cational needs of the twenty-first century's global economy. CTE served
as a credentialing program so its students could qualify for vocational
jobs upon graduation. To do so, CTE students completed a regular high
school course of study, earning a high school diploma in addition to
these CTE certifications.

One CTE program of study was the IT Network Institute, sponsored

by Cisco, a multinational manufacturer of networking equipment. The Institute offered students the opportunity to earn a number of different cybersecurity-related certifications, including CCENT, CompTIA A+, and CompTIA Net+.[29] Through the Institute—referred to by its corporate moniker, "Cisco"—students could also enroll in courses developed by CyberWatch, an organization dedicated to "advancing cybersecurity education and strengthening the national cybersecurity workforce."[30] These courses included Tactical Perimeter Defense, a class designed to teach students advanced network security fundamentals, and Security+, a class on the risks and threats targeting an organization's critical electronic assets. SDE viewed these credentialing pathways as opportunities for young people to earn entry-level jobs in the information technology or cybersecurity industries.

At the regional level, the Mid-Atlantic Homeland Security Network of Educators (MHSNE) brought together homeland security teachers and administrators from eleven different counties in the region.[31] Together, they planned and organized curricula, applied for grants to fund their programs, shared resources, and collaborated with national security industry partners. At one MHSNE meeting I observed, industry partners and school staff worked together on a plan to keep their homeland security curriculum "rigorous and relevant."[32] They vetted ideas about how to shift the focus of the homeland security curriculum to cybersecurity without replicating the already existing CTE cybersecurity programs.

At this MHSNE meeting, an FBI special agent, a Hewlett Packard representative, and a CyberWatch[33] employee outlined the skills needed to be competitive in the cybersecurity and cyberforensics industries. With the teachers, they discussed how current homeland security programs might incorporate these skills into the classroom. They also explored funding opportunities, noting that the Network received four Department of Homeland Security Urban Areas Security Initiative (UASI) grants totaling more than $500,000 between 2009 and 2013.[34] Earmarked for initiatives related to national security, these federal grants initiated, developed, and sustained homeland security programs throughout the region. MHSNE, for instance, dispersed $75,000 of this UASI grant money to Milton[35] to fund the software, instructional materials, and teacher training for its GIS courses.

As this funding indicates, the federal government supported the Homeland Security program through grants and ongoing partnerships

with the school. Milton's story points to how remaking public education for corporate- and military-oriented exigencies necessarily *relies on* the active role of the state, whether through funding (UASI grants), resources, or curriculum redesign. Far from the withering away of the state predicted by Marxists or claims that neoliberalism promotes "small government," privatizing public schools depends on government infrastructures, monies, and, often, legislation.[36]

As I observed these local, state, and regional efforts to install "rigorous and relevant" homeland security programs, I recognized how national security norms and doctrines infiltrated how the community thought about the role of public schools. The ongoing demand to supply skilled security workers and improve the school's image propelled the Milton community to adopt a homeland security program. The "obvious" choice of the Homeland Security Trademark, however, neglected other possibilities of critical education in times of war and the role schooling might play in helping us "understand our historical moment" *and* how to "mak[e] it livable for others and for ourselves."[37] Dominant national security, military, and neoliberal logics unfolding in a racialized and classed context limited the community's social imaginary. Yet that other nearby schools chose themes like Environmental Literacy and Human Performance points to how Milton's national security reconfiguration was not an inevitable outcome of its location, current school reform trends, or global war on terror logics. Prevailing social forces and local geographies do not fully determine people, schools, and society; another kind of schooling was, and is, possible.

The Wow Factor: National Security and Student Engagement

In a spirited focus group with district-level school administrators, Mr. Arnold could barely contain his enthusiasm for the Trademarks initiative. He oozed energy as he recounted a time when a Northrop Grumman engineer handed a Franklin County Public Schools student a "picture of some bomber that Northrop Grumman developed." Impressed, the student asked, "Wow! Did you build that?" The engineer enthused, "No, I paid for it! I'm in the budget office!" Mr. Arnold gushed that "this child ha[d] a wow moment here: 'This jet is cool! This guy pays for it! I want to be like him!' . . . The wow factor is unbelievable." For Mr. Arnold, partnering with industry experts and designing a cur-

riculum around national security created the wow factor that engaged struggling students.

Taking advantage of this wow factor, Milton's Homeland Security program targeted struggling students who, "with a little bit of love,"[38] could graduate on time. Ms. Thomas explained that, given this goal, the Homeland Security program worked to "fully engage" these students in school and in their community. Ms. Thomas even declared that the program helped "get kids who really weren't concerned about school or academics" to "suddenly read the newspaper, print[] out articles for me, and engage[] in conversations!" From Ms. Thomas's perspective, Milton's Homeland Security program excited students who were otherwise disengaged in school.

Echoing Ms. Thomas, Mr. Hopkins offered that the Homeland Security program gave students a "boost" in their academic performance. To give students this boost, the Trademarks across FCPS linked classroom learning to future jobs. School staff asserted that making learning "relevant" in this way engaged students and made classes meaningful. Mathematics teacher Ms. Simmons, for example, discussed the importance of the Homeland Security theme in her own classroom:

> It's a way of showing our freshmen why. Where is math relevant and where are you going to see it in, you know, in your future? And so that's where the other math teacher and I would come together and we would create these Homeland Security lessons and it was all about reality. When am I going to see quadratics? Why do I need to learn how to solve systems? And put it more in, like, reality and future jobs for 'em. . . . If you want to be a police officer, well then you need to understand quadratics. You're gonna have to understand, you know, skid marks and using formulas and all that stuff. So it's just relevancy and opening up the world to them. . . . I want to see Homeland Security relevancy for every unit, for every lesson.

For Ms. Simmons, making her curriculum relevant meant connecting each lesson to future jobs. Using quadratics to understand skid marks just like police officers helped show her students how they might use mathematics in the future as national security workers. Mr. Hopkins referred to this vocational form of relevancy as "implementing industry,"

meaning that Trademark programs "bring industry into the classroom real-time so kids are getting a more authentic experience of what the industry needs." Doing so engaged struggling students in a meaningful curriculum.

Mr. Arnold also passionately explained the academic benefits of incorporating the national security industry into Milton through the Trademarks program:

> It's about bringing the wow factor into the school for the kids and the parents *[pounds fist on table]*. . . . Math classes tend, for me personally, to be boring unless I have a really dynamic teacher. And that teacher needs, for me, to make connections between what I'm learning about the sine and cosine to the world. If the teacher can say, "I was talking to a guy the other day who's one of our local defense contractors and he was explaining to me how when they're machining parts for, you know, the next B-1 bomber, they have to get such a tolerance on this curve and when I'm talking to you about sine and cosine, we're talking about angles and curves, so if you were building a B-1 bomber" *[voice rises with excitement]* and some kid in the room is gonna go, "Yeah, I get that!" Or, "Wow, that's cool!"

I commiserated with the first part of Mr. Arnold's statement, remembering mathematics classes that only ever seemed to prepare me to take tests. Yet, as he described using calculus to machine parts for a B-1 bomber, I wondered how Mr. Arnold had come to ignore all the other ways mathematics could be made relevant and useful in students' lives. As I thought of alternatives to this militarized example, Eric Gutstein's demand to use mathematics to "read the world" echoed in my head.[39] Anchored in the work of Paulo Freire,[40] Gutstein offers that reading the world with mathematics "means to use mathematics to understand relations of power, resource inequities, and disparate opportunities between different social groups."[41] When Gutstein's students "realized that one B-2 bomber equals the cost of providing four-year college scholarships for all students in the next 79 graduating classes at their neighborhood school, they were *beginning* to read the world through mathematics."[42] Although I affirmed Mr. Arnold's emphasis on linking classroom learning with students' lives, I imagined other opportunities for Milton youth to explore the social problems they encountered daily, whether

the educational costs of military investments, ongoing gentrification, the economic and material effects of the global war on terror, pollution brought about by the massive expansion of the military base, or racial tensions in the community.

Despite my concerns and ardent conviction that teachers could make learning "relevant" in other ways, Mr. Arnold's passionate monologue communicated his pride in this militarized, work-oriented Homeland Security program. Mr. Arnold even insisted that through the Trademarks initiative, "we are changing the nature of education in America! It's not just Franklin County Public Schools. We are trying to change education in America!" Pounding his fist on the table for emphasis, Mr. Arnold continued, "And so, by changing education, we're changing the lives of however many hundred thousand children there are out there in schools. And I believe in this vision!" Mr. Arnold's impassioned soapbox was a testament to his, and others', strong belief in the Trademarks initiative. This commitment trickled down to teachers who hoped to (and did) make learning relevant, fun, and exciting for students less interested in more traditional forms of schooling that dominated Milton classrooms.

Given the demographics of the school—a "minority-majority" school where staff read students as "rough," "difficult," and "rowdy"—the Homeland Security program, with a military focus, seemed like the perfect approach to engage Milton students and a good fit for their future jobs. If administrators or teachers had any reservations about implementing a military- or security-focused program, the possibilities for *these* students to learn technical skills and to "see the world" helped assuage them.

As a self-proclaimed "flower child of the sixties and seventies," Ms. Foster explained that she first balked at the military focus of Milton's program. However, through the "whole military presence and that whole, you know, the big JROTC," Ms. Foster "saw what was being done for students by that program. These kids were given opportunities to stop screwing up, place for them to go if they weren't yet that college material. And so I saw a different side of the military." Mr. Arnold, another self-identified "hug the world hippie," interjected to say that his attitude toward the military shifted after "the first one of my boys came back in his Marine dress blues and talked to my class about the opportunities that were given to him. . . . And I was able to put aside the fact that, and

yes, you were also trained to kill people." For Mr. Arnold and Ms. Foster, the JROTC and a military-focused Homeland Security program suited Milton students because it provided them with the discipline they needed and opportunities they might not have otherwise. These benefits helped them overlook the military aspects of these two programs.

Taking trips outside of their community and seeing other parts of the country served as one such opportunity school staff believed the program offered students. Ms. Thomas, for instance, detailed the possibilities the program afforded her students:

> The thing about it is that it's Franklin County, but it was every bit urban teaching. Like it's the little pocket that you don't hear about. It's definitely the outlier to this well-to-do county, this well-to-do suburban county. And you get a third of your kids from public housing. There's every issue that you would experience in an urban setting. . . . It was just so rewarding to see their faces light up because they got to go to New York City. Or they got to go to Virginia Tech.[43] Because these are students who, some of them had never left the area and because they were a part of this program, they got to experience so much. . . . That, to me, just warms my heart.

Marking Milton students as "urban" served as code to talk about non-dominant youth. Drawing from the deficit discourse that defines poor students of color as problems, "urban" translated to "rough," "rowdy," and "difficult" bodies of color that needed strict discipline, structure, and vocational training rather than a rigorous liberal arts education. The Homeland Security program, Milton school staff articulated, provided the discipline, focus, and engaging work-based curriculum that would help students succeed in school. Yet the program also provided students with rich learning opportunities beyond their own communities. These opportunities "warmed" school staff's hearts.

As these animated responses underscore, Milton school staff passionately viewed the Homeland Security program as an innovative way to bring the wow factor to struggling students. Doing so, Mr. Arnold argued, offered students "a whole new life and a whole new world."

In celebrating these efforts to carve out militarized pathways toward economic security, Mr. Arnold obscured the very neoliberal policies that

produced economic insecurity in the Milton community. Ms. Thomas ignored the social practices that led to the "generational poverty" students confronted, a context compounded by racism that meant some students "had never left the area." Although Mr. Arnold and other Milton school staff applauded the district's creation of military- and national security–oriented economic opportunities for its students, these affirmations often erased how capitalist expansion fueled economic insecurity in the region, thus producing the very poverty Milton students sought to escape through national security work.[44]

Security Skills

School staff lauded the Trademark program as a "fun" and "innovative" effort that engaged young people by linking learning to future jobs. To help students attain "a whole new life," the Homeland Security program trained Milton students in the skills necessary for success in the security industry. To do so, the program solicited input, resources, and support from industry experts. As a result of these consultations, teachers aligned their curriculum with the pressing needs of the industry. School staff argued that this newly designed curriculum nurtured students to be "better employees" and thus "better consumers," "good workers," and "good citizens."[45] In doing so, teachers strived to improve the culture of the school and provide a pipeline of skilled national security workers.

Milton's Team of Community Partners helped school staff define the goals of the Homeland Security program. The TCP, for example, crafted a working white paper that described the shortcomings of FCPS, arguing, "Our [school] system is not producing students with the necessary skills/toolsets that industry needs." In response to this "problem," the TCP and Milton school staff composed a mission statement synchronous with the dynamic needs of the industry, thus concretizing the agenda for the Homeland Security program:

> In order to effectively ensure the nation's continued technical advantage and future Cyber Security, we must develop a technologically-skilled and cyber-savvy workforce and an effective pipeline of future employees. We believe it can begin with the Trademark Program and

programs similar where the Community partners with the school systems to bring real life experience into the school via curriculum and co-curricular activities. The TCP is committed to assisting the FCPS with, but not limited to, the following:

> *Inspiring*: the next generation of scientists and engineers. (Grades K–10)
>
> *Engaging*: students in STEM-related hands-on learning activities using Navy content. (Grades 3–12)
>
> *Educating*: students to be well-prepared for employment in STEM disciplines in the DoD, Commercial, Private Industry, or in supporting academic institutions. (Higher Education)
>
> *Employing*: retain and develop STEM professionals. (Higher Education, Professional Development, Faculty)
>
> *Collaborating*: across STEM programs to maximize benefits to all participants.

In this statement, the security industry defined itself as "the Community" with the authority and expertise to "bring real life experience into the school" to develop an "effective pipeline of future employees."

The demand to realign Milton with the needs of the security industry harkens back to the Cold War nuclear arms race, when the perceived "uneasy world situation" called on schools to "intensify their efforts to accomplish their goals" and "adjust[] the curriculum to develop in the pupils the qualities and characteristics needed in such an emergency."[46] Milton's TCP reaffirmed the role public schools play in maintaining national security.

To develop this pipeline of future employees, TCP members stressed the importance of developing students' soft skills in addition to their national security knowledge. Mr. Samuel, for instance, described the student the program sought to "create," emphasizing the importance of nurturing students' technical and soft skills:

> We are talking academically strong just in general, and to a much broader and deeper awareness of homeland security and cyber-security. We want to develop their technical skills. We want to make a strong emphasis on those *soft skills* which we call leadership: being able to articulate your ideas, thinking outside the box, being able to write a project plan or an assimilation plan. (emphasis original)

Like Mr. Samuel, Northrop Grumman engineer Jerry Nash outlined the importance of skills like "self-initiative, self-motivation, and interpersonal communication" as well as "technology application" and "problem solving." For Mr. Samuel and Mr. Nash, the Homeland Security program needed to train students in both the soft and technical skills valued by the security industry.

Students echoed similar goals. Twelfth grader Tanya explained to a group of industry partners that her internship at the Defense Information Systems Agency (DISA) "really helped me with my communications skills." "Before," Tanya offered, "I was just used to working with computers and I wasn't good with talking with people." Though Tanya found working with computers "fun" and "easy," she recognized the importance of honing her communication skills for the job market. Tanya learned to value these skills through her DISA internship and Homeland Security classes.

Teachers interpreted and translated this industry- and FCPS-imposed agenda into their classrooms in different, though somewhat similar, ways. Ms. Perez, for example, articulated that one of her most important goals for her class was to discipline her students so that they would be successful laborers upon graduation:

> What I really try to focus on with them is real basic skills *[laughs]*: how to enter a classroom appropriately because you know what, when you show up for work one day and you're screaming and hootin' and hollerin' at your place of employment, that's not going to fly. You're not going to stay there very long. How to enter my classroom quietly and without me asking to get to work. Because how often do you, or do I, come to work—Mr. Ross doesn't come here and say, "Ms. Perez, did you sign in today? Do you have a lesson ready today?" He doesn't. I come in and I know what I have to do for the day and I do it without anyone telling me. So that's what I'm really trying to push them to do. And how to use their time wisely. . . . So I try really hard for that and just to hopefully get them to validate working hard in the classroom because I just feel the classroom for them is no different than a job. They just don't get paid *[laughs]*!

Ms. Perez often evoked students' "job descriptions" and "job expectations" to help them think through how they should behave in school and

why. Students, for example, sometimes complained about the privileges teachers enjoyed like using their cell phones. Frustrated that their student status barred them from adult privileges, students deemed these policies unfair. When students issued these complaints in the classroom, Ms. Perez explained to her students that they have a "different job," so the "expectations of behavior" differ. Students responded positively to this logic and articulated that they appreciated that Ms. Perez always took the time to explain why they had to follow particular rules using job-related examples. I often read Ms. Perez as privileging this focus on job-oriented behaviors over the actual content of her class.

Similarly, Tyrell respected Principal Young's approach to rule enforcement because Mr. Young explicitly connected school rules to future workplace expectations:

> He's like, "I'm trying to do this because it's what you're going to have to do in other places. Like you don't wear a hat when you go into buildings and stuff like that and you go to class because you need to be on time later on in life. You late for work or something like that, you can show up late a few times, but you're cut. You're done."

Tyrell juxtaposed Mr. Young to teachers who simply yelled at him when he arrived late to class. He appreciated that Mr. Young both respected him in this exchange and highlighted *why* it was important to be punctual in a way related to the workplace. Here school served as an apprenticeship, preparing young people, not for active participation in a democratic society, but for life and work as laborers.

Schools, of course, have long served as factories used to normalize, regulate, and discipline poor and working-class youth of color to the norms, habits, and behaviors suitable for low-wage work and for war.[47] As one national security expert advised in an MHSNE meeting, "when you turn out these people to the workforce, what do you need? What does that typical candidate look like at the end of delivery silos? You need to tailor curriculum to the needs of the job market." This national security expert imagined students as products moving through a "delivery silo," raw materials on an assembly line that needed to be calibrated, or tailored, to the needs of the military and national security industry.

Like Ms. Perez, Mr. Ross expressed interest in preparing his students

to be successful in their future jobs. Yet, unlike Ms. Perez, Mr. Ross spoke mostly about wanting to give his students a broad base of knowledge, technical skills, and experiences that would help students succeed after high school regardless if they connected to national security:

> My goals for my students are to expose them to as many fields as possible in or out of Homeland Security, but have some overlap in Homeland Security. I think it's more of a mechanism to STEM careers so if I expose students to a biodefense director, I'm not just exposing him to Homeland Security. I'm exposing him to biology, immunology, whatever it might be. . . . Well-rounded, academically successful and motivated. Really, all I want to make sure is that they're prepared for success outside, when they leave Milton High School.

To meet these goals, Mr. Ross worked hard to learn more about his students, their interests, and potential national security careers. Eleventh grader Jamal appreciated his relationship with Mr. Ross in large part because it led to internship opportunities; Mr. Ross applied what he knew about his students in his quest to find opportunities he felt would interest them:

> Mr. Ross is very good at getting you opportunities. He constantly tells me about opportunities of internships. . . . For example, I want to go into cybersecurity a little bit, or I'm thinking about doing it. The Naval Academy has something to do with cybersecurity and he'll tell me, "Okay, you know, are you interested in this?" He basically gets to know his students. So he knows, "Okay, you're interested in this, so I'm going to help you get to where you want to be."

By getting to know Jamal's career interests, Mr. Ross could effectively steer Jamal toward relevant internship opportunities.

As Jamal and Mr. Ross indicated, relationships proved to be an important part of Milton's program. Mr. Ross, for instance, explained that he strived to make his students "feel special, like they were a part of something special," while in the program. Like Mr. Ross, former Homeland Security teacher Ms. Thomas described how the program "built a family." Ms. Thomas passionately continued, "We built a cohort. We built confidence in children who didn't have it. We built experiences. We

built memories. And so yes, we used Homeland Security as the anchor, but what we did there was so much greater than Homeland Security." Students echoed their teachers, often referring to the program as a "family" where "you feel like you're a part of something" and "everyone's together and everyone really gets to know each other." While the national security theme engaged students, a sense of family drew students into their classes and contributed to their success in school.

Although Ms. Perez, Ms. Thomas, and Mr. Ross outlined different goals for their students, they each showed their commitment to preparing students specifically for jobs. Pulled by dominant neoliberal narratives that defined the purpose of education as job training and by security industry pressures to redesign their curriculum, Milton school staff interpreted "relevance" to education as the explicit connection between schooling and national security jobs. School staff like Mr. Thomas, Ms. Simmons, and Mr. Arnold bought into this kind of education because they saw the Homeland Security program as an effective and creative way to engage their "rough" and "rowdy" students in the classroom and to help them secure their financial futures after graduation. In doing so, they ignored other ways that schooling might be made relevant to young people's lives like building the frameworks to make sense of the world in which they live and to create more just futures.[48] Still, teachers' continued commitment to their students could not be missed throughout my time at the school.

The National Security Industry Goes to School

To support the program and its goals, almost two dozen security corporations, defense contractors, and federal agencies formed Milton's Team of Community Partners. Some of these partners included Science Applications International Corporation (a major defense contractor), L3 Communications (a communications, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance company), the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, NIST, the FBI, the NSA, and the U.S. Army. The number of national security partners illustrates the industry's strong commitment to the Homeland Security program and Milton's active efforts to include the perspectives, needs, and agenda of the industry.

To organize the participation of these partners, Milton selected a small group of TCP members to join the program's Steering Committee,

which included Mr. Hopkins, Principal Young, Vice Principal Whiting, Ms. Foster, and sometimes teachers from nearby elementary and middle schools.[49] At the Steering Committee's monthly meetings, TCP members discussed the national security skills, issues, and topics Milton should include in its Homeland Security classes. They also collaborated with school staff to craft vision and mission statements for the program and to write grant proposals for additional funds. Steering Committee members also pooled their resources to expand the program, including securing internship opportunities for students, finding more guest speakers, and building partnerships with nearby community colleges.

These monthly meetings supplemented earlier collaborations to design the program, define its goals, and write its curriculum.[50] In these early meetings, Milton teachers met with national security experts from Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman to discuss the topics and skills to incorporate into their curriculum.

Through all of these meetings, the TCP collectively worked to define the partnership between the national security industry and all of Milton's elementary, middle, and high schools (collectively referred to as the Milton Cluster):

> It is the Vision of the Milton Cluster Homeland Security's TCP to be a world-class leader in connecting the Milton Cluster Pipeline Schools and the surrounding businesses community, organizations, and other strategic partners in an effort to recruit, engage, inspire, empower, and develop students for impactful careers in Homeland Security of the 21st Century and beyond. . . . The Mission of the Milton Cluster Homeland Security's TCP is to leverage our DOD [Department of Defense], Academia, Private Industry, and strategic community partnership's experiences, networks, resources, and skills.

In this statement, the TCP emphasized Milton's role in sustaining the national security industry by preparing students for "impactful careers in Homeland Security." Meanwhile, Franklin County Public Schools defined the role of the TCP in this way: "the TCP works with the school to determine needs, timeline and budget, program elements, outcomes, resources, curricula and creates a detailed Trademark Program plan. In

partnership with school personnel, the TCP will remain involved with the sustainability of the Trademark Program." While the TCP focused on the outcomes of the program, FCPS emphasized the nature of the relationship between national security partners and the school.

Despite collective enthusiasm about these partnerships, enacting the program's mission occasionally sparked disagreement between teachers, administrators, and security industry partners. Mr. Ross and Ms. Perez expressed frustration that the district rarely included their perspectives in larger decision-making processes that affected their day-to-day work. In fact, the Steering Committee scheduled meetings at times when Mr. Ross and Ms. Perez taught. Irritated, Mr. Ross explained that "To be at those meetings, to get a substitute to cover our classes says that we are important enough to be here. For us not to be there says we're not important enough to be there. And there's no voice for the students." Mr. Ross and Ms. Perez both struggled for power and autonomy, sometimes making classroom-level decisions without consulting the TCP.

Even with the absence of the teachers, Steering Committee meetings sometimes provoked dissent among the TCP and school administrators. At one meeting I observed, TCP chair Davonte Samuel expressed frustration about his, and his company's, involvement in the program. Afterward, Mr. Hopkins explained that Mr. Samuel's vision for the future of the program, which included an opportunity for his company to develop a profitable online platform, diverged from the goals of the district. Rather than finding common ground, district administrators simply ignored his proposal. In Mr. Hopkins's words, "FCPS is just stringing him along so of course he's pissed." While TCP members actively participated in developing Milton's curriculum with teachers around the needs of the industry, school administrators maintained control over the long-term mission of the program.

In addition to contributing to decision-making processes at the school, TCP members also used the Homeland Security program to advance their own corporate interests while catering to the needs of Milton students. Chatting with me one day, Mr. Ross talked about a project in partnership with Regal Decision Systems Inc., a firm that specializes in software to help with flow management, particularly in times of emergency. Regal Decisions provided Milton students with its

million-dollar software for them to learn by creating emergency evacuation plans for FCPS schools. Mr. Ross explained this partnership to me:

> MR. ROSS: Regal Decisions did the evacuation planning tool. They did that the first year of the program and they showed the program to our students. However, they didn't actually come up with a plan the second year. So, I don't know what they did with it. I know they presented it to the school board, but I don't think anything actually came about as a result of it. Regal Decisions was trying to sell it. We had students presenting it to the school board and I don't think they sold it.
>
> NICOLE: Regal Decisions was trying to sell it to the school?
>
> MR. ROSS: Yeah, to the district. That tends to be why our TCP members get involved. It's not purely for, some of it surely, purely is for the students, but for most of them, it's probably networking as well. It's like belonging to an association, a professional association, which is fine as long as we're benefiting from it.

In this project with Regal Decisions, students developed evacuation plans for Milton. They then presented their plans to the school board, a process Regal Decisions hoped would lead FCPS to purchase its software for all of its schools.

Regal Decisions sought to train students with its software, expand its market, and, like the many other national security banners hanging on Milton's walls, display the company's involvement in the school. Given his own experiences with the company and others like it, Mr. Ross saw TCP members as caring about Milton students and advancing their own corporate interests.

In all of my interviews and interactions, I read administrators, teachers, and TCP members as passionate and enthusiastic about the possibilities of the Homeland Security program for Milton students. They understood that the school's partnerships with the industry garnered resources and engaged students. School staff passionately argued that the Homeland Security program would improve graduation rates and secure students' financial futures by realigning the school's curriculum according to the needs of the national security industry. Within a deeply racialized and classed context, Milton, by design, installed a

"vo-tech of the 21st century" program to prepare students for national security work.

Given dominant neoliberal trends in school reform and the presence of the national security industry, a Homeland Security program came to be an "obvious" school reform project that met the needs of Milton's "rough" and "rowdy" students. In fact, every school adult and TCP member I encountered emphasized her commitment to "eliminating the achievement gap," "boosting" academic performance, and preparing young people for success after graduation. As Mr. Arnold's impassioned monologues illustrate, school staff adamantly argued that the program created an "innovative" opportunity for students to succeed in school and in careers upon graduation. Milton guidance counselor Mr. Pittman even expressed at a Homeland Security program celebration, "It does my heart good to hear a fourth grader say I want to go into the FBI, a sixth grader want to be a doctor. It's good for them to have that career direction." For Mr. Pittman, schooling served primarily to prepare young people for their future careers. As such, he was relieved that even Milton's "rough" and "rowdy" students came to establish a "career direction" through the Homeland Security program.

These snippets underscore how Milton school staff like Mr. Pittman imagined the Homeland Security program as a progressive step toward creating more equitable educational opportunities by mobilizing local resources and preparing girls, students of color, and poor and working-class youth to secure jobs. The TCP mission statement directly named "ETAG" (eliminating the achievement gap) as a major goal of the program.[51] Casting Milton's Homeland Security program in such multicultural, social justice–infused language neglected how this approach also worked in the service of the ongoing social reproduction of a lower-tier, low-wage labor force. Describing the Homeland Security program as "innovative," "engaging," and invested in "eliminating the achievement gap" cleansed the violent implications of this kind of schooling.[52] Marking Milton's program in this way sanitized the process of organizing its curriculum around military and security values, doctrines, and practices. These social justice vocabularies also erased how this kind of schooling intended to funnel racialized and classed bodies into the war-making business. School adults "euphemized" Milton's function of preparing youth of color for the global war on terror through discourses

of equality and social justice.[53] Despite the popular "ETAG" moniker, Milton's program contributed to the social sorting of young people as it prepared its poor and working-class youth of color for vocational work in the national security industry. These outcomes must be weighed alongside teachers' intentions.

Preparing for the Future

As good neoliberal subjects,[54] students also expressed a keen interest in this corporatized and securitized reconfiguration of public schooling. As one student proclaimed before class one day, "eighty-five percent of what you learn in high school you don't use in life because by junior year you know what you're going to do so you should only study that!" Other students articulated that they joined the Homeland Security program to ready themselves for their careers or to help them figure out what they wanted to do in the future. Students, thus, formed neoliberal opinions about the purpose of schooling based on their own experiences in school and through prevailing discourses used to make sense of these experiences.

As the Milton community came to imagine school principally as a vehicle to secure jobs, the Homeland Security program shaped young people's dreams and desires around work in the national security industry. When I asked tenth grader Tyrell about his future aspirations, for instance, he expressed that he "want[ed] to get into engineering and work at Northrop Grumman." Surprised by this specific focus, I asked Tyrell how he came to that goal. Tyrell explained how the ongoing presence of national security experts in his school informed his career aspirations:

> TYRELL: I want to get into engineering and work at Northrop Grumman.
> NICOLE: Engineering at Northrop Grumman? Okay, cool. So that's pretty specific at Northrop Grumman. How did you come to that?
> TYRELL: Because a lot growing up, I grew up around an area where they have a lot of people from like Northrop Grumman [who] talked to the kids about what they do and everything and the different types of engineering. And I've always been good with numbers and I've always been good with building things and it always

> seemed fun to be able to help build the aircrafts and stuff that the
> military uses and do other things like that.
>
> NICOLE: When people were coming from Northrop Grumman . . . they
> came to your school?
>
> TYRELL: Yeah, they'd come to my school and sit down and talk to
> the different classes and everything, said what they do, and how
> they got the job, and all the qualifications that they all have to go
> through.
>
> NICOLE: And how old were you?
>
> TYRELL: I was in, I think, every year in elementary school.

These regular incursions by security industry representatives into pub-
lic elementary schools throughout the Mid-Atlantic concerned me, but
students were normalized, even expectant, of these moments. Hearing
from Northrop Grumman engineers "every year in elementary school"
led Tyrell to strive to "build the aircrafts and stuff that the military uses."

Milton students expressed interest in connecting more with in-
dustry experts to secure internships and jobs. Jamal, for instance, ex-
plained that field trips were far from a simple educational enterprise.
"Basically," Jamal said, "opportunities for networking is what your field
trips are for." As I mentioned earlier, through these field trip–cum–
networking opportunities, Jamal completed an internship with DISA
and was in the process of obtaining a top secret security clearance for
an internship at NSA at the time of his interview. Like Jamal, Martrez
explained that he joined the Homeland Security program because it
linked directly to his career goals:

> I've always wanted to get a job with the government. I just never knew
> what branch I wanted to go through. I just knew I wanted it to be the
> government. Being in this class, it really narrowed my decision. So I
> want to get a job in like NSA, FBI, something like that. And then, like,
> seeing all the guest speakers that come in or the people that we meet
> really made me narrow my decision because I'm working on getting
> an internship with NSA.

As Jamal's and Martrez's experiences indicate, the Homeland Security
program taught its students to view education as a means to prepare
for future jobs by meeting "high people" on field trips and training in

the national security field. Students perceived working in the national security industry as an "important" and meaningful way to serve their nation and ensure their own job security. The program provided students with the social capital and skills needed to "make careers" out of their jobs.[55]

Through this schooling, Milton students saw themselves as autonomous entrepreneurial subjects imbued with individual responsibilities. Such "rationalities and technologies of the government," Mike Rose argues,[56] intensify the "increasing emphasis on the responsibility of the individuals to manage their own affairs, to secure their own security with a prudential eye on the future."[57] Given the "generational poverty" Milton students negotiated, they bought into these prevailing neoliberal logics that conditioned them as "men of enterprise."[58] Through their participation in the program, Milton students worked to become optimizing, efficient, competitive, self-managing, and entrepreneurial subjects. With a prudential eye on the future, students invested in securing their financial futures either through military enlistment or through vocational work in the national security industry. Rather than imagine education as a tool to make sense of the world, prepare for democratic life, and foster intellectual growth, Milton students understandably treated school as a means to ensure economic security.

Warrior Dreams

As Tyrell's aspiration to become an engineer with Northrop Grumman indicates, the Homeland Security program shaped the career aspirations of Milton students. Preparing their students for particular jobs required that Milton teachers make careers in the national security industry desirable, attractive, and honorable. To do so, the program outlined militarized mobilities, militarized pathways to achieving a securitized, racialized, and classed version of the American Dream. Students, in turn, eagerly detailed their securitized dreams to me in interviews and focus groups.

Scott, for example, proudly detailed how he planned to attend the U.S. Naval Academy. He described the Navy anchor tattoo he designed, hoping to inscribe the military onto, and into, his body. Having already done a tattoo trial run, he knew the positioning, font, and shading he wanted.

Scott's classmate Isse also animated how his participation in the Homeland Security program shaped his dreams, particularly through field trips:

> I didn't really know what I wanted to do in my career or what I wanted to major in college. I was just going to school to get an education. I didn't really know what I wanted to do, but now that I came to Homeland Security, we have all these field trips and it really got me thinking about what I want to do in the future. . . . Like, guest speakers, they come in, they tell you about what they did to go through their careers and what you can do and what you can't do to get a job, in some type of homeland security job. And, like, the field trips was like, it shows you what they're doing at the same time. And maybe, it can get you interested in it.

Given these experiences, Isse hoped to "go to college, major in homeland security or law enforcement." As soon as Isse finished speaking, Isabella immediately announced, "I want to major in cybersecurity. Or, either that, but I really want to be a forensic psychologist." As Isabella's comment illustrates, students sensed the range of national security career possibilities available to them. Scott, Isse, and Isabella were not alone in enthusiastically articulating their warrior dreams.[59] Many students proudly expressed an interest in enlisting in the military and outlined specific plans to enter the Navy, Army, or Marine Corps. Others detailed explicit desires to work in the national security industry as cybersecurity experts, TSA agents, SWAT team members, forensic scientists, *Call of Duty* video game designers, NSA agents, firefighters, crime scene investigators, FBI agents, and DISA workers.

Dominant discourses circulating in the United States and transmitted through the Homeland Security program communicated to Milton students that the American Dream could be achieved by working in the security industry or enlisting in the military. Students viewed this military–security pathway as a reliable way to secure their financial futures. Industry partners and teachers, after all, reiterated that this growing multi-billion-dollar industry suffered from a "talent crisis" (not a job shortage) and desperately sought skilled workers. Mr. Vitale, for example, emphasized that those at the NSA "do well," buy homes, go on vacation, and retire comfortably. Moreover, the fun students had

on field trips to learn about the security industry, with enthusiastic guest speakers who showed them how exciting their work was, and discussion-based Homeland Security classes made these jobs seem thrilling, important, and in the service of their country.

Although many students across race expressed interest in obtaining national security jobs, the specific aspects of their desired future work often followed dominant gender(ed) norms. Trevor, a working-class freshman and one of the few white students in the program, articulated that he wanted to become a patrol cop and eventually a homicide detective. As he put it, "I just want a gun and Taser." Although Trevor communicated to me that he spent time studying policing by watching reality cop shows and enrolling in law classes at Milton, much of his enthusiasm revolved around earning a "gun and Taser" or a "badge and gun." These police symbols carried with them a sense of respect, authority, and physicality often denied to Milton youth. Other boys also talked excitedly about enlisting in the military because of the opportunity to wield guns and participate in everyday military culture like playing sports and picking up girls on-base. Following paternalistic tropes, some boys even declared that they wanted to "save the world."

Girls, conversely, rarely talked about using guns, earning respect, or saving the world. Instead, they emphasized their desire to serve the nation and help people. Tiffany, an energetic, working-class Latina, for example, emphasized her disinterest in the "killing people Navy Seal stuff":

> I'm not really into like the shootin' and the Navy Seals. I like the more CIA, FBI, detective, IT stuff. I really get interested in that, to learn how to, like we had a field trip where they . . . showed us on the computer how people can hack you. . . . And they showed us how people do that to you and they stop people from going. You have to know how they do it to stop 'em. So that was really interesting. I would love doing that. But I'm not into the killing people Navy Seal stuff. I don't like that.

In thinking about her future career, Tiffany explained that she tried to model herself after Olivia Benson, a com/passionate detective on the television crime drama *Law and Order: Special Victims Unit*: "[Olivia's] the person that made me want to do what she does. She helps people. She makes a difference in somebody's life." Tiffany then talked briefly

about her participation in the JROTC, an experience she described as developing her leadership and teamwork skills. Unlike the boys, who often talked about wanting to fight or use weapons, girls like Tiffany expressed a keen interest in helping people and serving their nation.

Although gender norms shaped student aspirations, these gendered expectations did not operate uniformly or deterministically across all Milton students. A couple of boys, for instance, expressed interest in computers. They aspired to obtain a cybersecurity job where they could use computers, not guns, to protect the nation. Given their experiences in the program, other Milton students simply said that they found the Homeland Security program to be "cool" and "exciting" and sought jobs based on that. Ultimately, most students across genders found their own niche in the Homeland Security program and carved out career aspirations within these spaces.

Despite this general enthusiasm around the program, not all students bought into this national security dreaming. A handful of students disengaged from the program altogether. These students told me that the school had assigned them to the Homeland Security program because it fit their schedules. A football player, for instance, insisted that football was his future and routinely tuned out in class either by sleeping or listening to music. Sometimes Ms. Perez struggled for his attention, but many times she let his behavior pass, reading him as a student who would not continue on in the program. Ms. Perez chose to focus her attention on students actively interested in the class. Given the high interest in the program, students needed to earn a recommendation from Ms. Perez at the end of Homeland Security 1 to continue their studies in the program. This process worked to ensure that after their first year, only the most interested students advanced to Homeland Security 2.

Occasionally, Milton tried to recapture students who articulated other desires. When ninth grader Brittany, for instance, told a guest speaker that she wanted to become a hairstylist, the speaker replied, "Even the NSA needs their hair did!" When another student explained that she wanted to become a defense attorney, the guest speaker responded that she generally did not enjoy working with defense attorneys because they, from her vantage point, "work *against* the police." By the end of the presentation, the young girl explained to the guest speaker that she had changed her mind and wanted to be a prosecutor. In less than an hour, her dreams and desires had been remade in the ongoing

service of the national security industry. Teachers and guest speakers sought to reorient some students to possible careers in national security by showing them how their interests could relate to future jobs while allowing other, seemingly less interested students to disengage with the assumption that they would not advance in the program.

Although some Milton students sought careers outside of the security industry, many students dreamed about studying issues of national security in college and entering middle-class jobs in the field. In fact, the promise of upward mobility contributed to students' enthusiastic participation in the program. Yet school staff and security industry partners sold students a version of the American Dream they did not consider possible for their students. Through my fieldwork, I noticed a disjuncture between the career expectations school adults held and what students thought was possible. Students articulated that they could be competitive in any national security job while Mr. Hopkins noted that "only one or two students" would "fall into the category" of "being employable by the industry." Instead, Mr. Hopkins viewed the Homeland Security program as a way "to give back to the community and give students that little boost: maybe the kid who is predisposed to dropping out graduates with a diploma." Likewise, Ms. Perez, exhausted one day, claimed that most of her students would never earn a security clearance given their "backgrounds"[60] and failure to complete basic tasks during the school day. Although this comment came at the end of a particularly tough teaching day, it provided insight into teacher expectations of students.

Mr. Hopkins, a white man raised working class who often coded intersecting issues of class and race solely in terms of class, explained to me,

> The reality is that most of these kids come from blue-collar backgrounds and will have blue-collar jobs so it's about getting them a career. Not just a job where they're living paycheck to paycheck, but a career where they can have a reliable income. So the program is about getting them those entry-level jobs that could be steady careers.

Mr. Hopkins charged the Homeland Security program with helping his "blue-collar" students secure a blue-collar job that "could be a steady career." "Students," Mr. Hopkins explained, "aren't suddenly going to be

going to college en masse." By Mr. Hopkins's calculation, most Milton Homeland Security students would end up "standing the post" as "military grunts."[61] Here Mr. Hopkins made visible how he and others believed a militarized form of national security training fit the needs of Milton students destined for blue-collar jobs or military enlistment.

As Mr. Hopkins's comments indicate, school staff expected students to obtain entry-level jobs in the national security industry, enlist in the military, or secure blue-collar jobs in other fields. Students, meanwhile, dreamed of long careers in the upper echelons of the intelligence community or as high-ranking military officers. While Milton students aspired to work at the top ranks of the security industry, teachers and administrators held more modest expectations. When I raised concerns about these stark differences in career expectations, Mr. Hopkins acknowledged this "mismatch," admitting that students dreamed of careers school staff thought were impossible to obtain. Still, these dreams drove students to actively participate in the school, which, from Mr. Hopkins's perspective, justified this "mismatch."

Mr. Ross was one teacher who often pushed back against these low/er expectations. In fact, he insisted that his students were quite "deserving" of the opportunities afforded to them to intern at DISA and the NSA. As such, Mr. Ross worked to make his students competitive for white-collar jobs. Yet, for the most part, students were made to believe that they could and would secure jobs in the security industry as long as they could obtain a security clearance. And when students often asked how much money guest speakers made, a question that always embarrassed their teachers, they often explicitly stated that security experts "do well."

School staff used students' enthusiasm about national security and their lofty career goals to their advantage. A significant part of Milton's Homeland Security curriculum, for instance, was a new statewide effort to provide students with the information needed to earn security clearances. Guest speakers and teachers encouraged students to act in particular ways to qualify for a security clearance. The security clearance, certainly a biopolitical tool of population management, served as a way to carrot Milton youth into "acting right" and "stop screwing up."[62] NSA agent Mr. Vitale, for example, detailed to students how they needed to behave to prove their trustworthiness:

When you come to the agency, they want to make sure that *you* be-
lieve in this country, that you will protect this country, and you won't
do anything but protect the nation and help us. If you're a criminal,
if you have a criminal past, they're gonna think you're not trust-
worthy. Why am I gonna give *you* classified information to protect
this country if you're not trustworthy? . . . So if you're doing drugs, if
you're stealing, if you're doing whatever . . . and you continue down
that path, I don't care how smart you are, they're just not going to
hire you. . . . You say something, you've done something stupid, *stupid
lasts forever.* They will find it! And you're not gettin' the job. (emphasis
original)

Mr. Vitale's insistence that "stupid lasts forever" served as a prelude to
a monologue advising students to be careful about what they posted on
social media, to not lie or steal, and to have good finances, because poor
credit makes a person susceptible to blackmail.

On another occasion, a guest speaker stressed to students that they
needed to "own up to [their] mistakes" and "make good decisions" to
pass the security clearance polygraph. Suddenly, Ms. Perez interrupted
the guest speaker, interjecting, "That's why when I say don't curse, don't
say 'shut up' in my class, it's about a level of respect you should main-
tain for yourself." Struggling with classroom management, Ms. Perez
attempted to use the highly coveted security clearance as an incentive
to help regulate student behavior. As such, Ms. Perez encouraged her
students to act according to particular norms set by the security indus-
try while in her classroom. She did so even though she believed only a
few of her students would qualify for a security clearance.

This biopolitical use of the security clearance rested on students re-
garding it highly and wanting to earn military–security jobs in the fu-
ture. While students viewed security clearances as "cool," guest speakers
also taught them that they could earn more money with one. Mr. Arnold,
for instance, told me about how one guest speaker advised students to
obtain a security clearance for the salary benefits:

I had a guy I used to bring in who has had half a dozen incredibly
high-level government and private industry, highly secure, secre-
tive jobs in communication. He likes to tell this story that he handed

> President Bush I the first secure cell phone for the president, which kids think is a very cool story. . . . He, at one point, was in charge of hiring—human resources—inside the fence at NSA. He says, "I need guys to mow the lawn! I need painters! I need window washers! I need plumbers! NSA has its own fire department! I don't care what career path you want to take. . . . If you live your life right, and you don't screw up with drugs and you don't get involved . . . with minor crimes, if you don't do funny things with the Internet, I can get you a job. And a good job making a whole lot of money with a security clearance. And even if you're the guy mowing the lawn at NSA inside the fence, you need a security clearance. But you'll make four dollars an hour more." And then he had them do the math. "Okay, so in an eight-hour day, that's $32. That's $150 a week. That's $600 more a month. That's . . . $7,200 a year. What can you do with an extra $7,200 a year? And, you know, it's not just about, 'I'm gonna be the wand guy at the airport. I can be an accountant. I can be a chef!'"

Mr. Arnold's account not only revealed how the security clearance was used to coerce students into "behaving"; it also highlighted the prevailing expectations of Milton students. In this message, Mr. Arnold did not portray Milton students as competitive for high-level security industry jobs but rather for low-wage labor positions that required minimum education. A "good education," however, "helps us make sense of the world and find our way in it" and nurtures the skills used to "create with and act in the world."[63] Still, Mr. Arnold and other school staff believed they were improving Milton and even "changing the nature of education in America." Within a highly racialized and classed context, school adults affirmed that a military focus of the program suited Milton students.

Wanting to improve student outcomes, Milton teachers and administrators intentionally enlisted struggling students into the program as a way to engage them in school and ensure their graduation. To do so, school staff cultivated a military-focused curriculum aimed at instilling in students the technical skills, durable dispositions, and habits necessary for vocational work in the security industry. Evident in the turn to public–private partnerships, intensification of vocational education, and use of military training to discipline young people, the global war

on terror and neoliberal order informed Milton's school reform efforts. Subsequently, school staff diligently worked to shift school culture and curriculum to align with these popular school reform trends and, in doing so, to help students secure their futures. Teachers and administrators passionately believed that a national security–focused program would engage their students in meaningful classroom learning and prepare them for a thriving industry in the midst of extensive national economic turmoil across the nation.

Mr. MacArthur, the proclaimed "brainchild" and creator of one of the first homeland security programs in the Mid-Atlantic, reflected on the benefits of these programs in an interview. He pointed to how a homeland security education improved student outcomes, raised student engagement, connected classroom learning to future jobs, and developed useful skill sets in his own school district:

> The first goal is always to try to enhance student achievement in the building. I found over the years that when you have a program of study that a person is interested in, they will want to come to school. They will want to go to classes. They'll see the relevance between why they're taking chemistry, and why they're taking math, and why they have to learn communications skills. So it all comes down to there's a purpose, more of a purpose of going to school than just waking up in the morning, going on a bus, and coming back. . . . Now is every kid going to go into homeland security that goes through our program? No. No. But, more importantly, they're gonna graduate high school. They'll have a skill set that they can fall back on and hopefully wherever else they go, they've learned those soft skills that we hear about from companies. . . . So, when we started the program, we wanted to address a job–labor market that was in need. We wanted to address kids that were searching for something that they could put their arms around and feel good about.

As Mr. MacArthur's account underscores, teachers and administrators across the region affirmed these homeland security programs and their benefits to students. They celebrated how these programs engaged and excited young people in school, eliminated the achievement gap, and "address[ed] a job–labor market that was in need."

Whitening Blue Collars?

Like her adult counterparts, tenth grader Isabella described the pur-poses of the Homeland Security program in relation to job training:

> It's about protecting our country and learning how it works and what the government does. But I think it's really, really helpful for those people who really want to get a job out of it. 'Cause, well, look at all the field trips we do. So, it's a really fun learning experience.

In this exchange, Isabella illustrated how Milton's Homeland Security program prepared her and her classmates "to get a job." Milton's Homeland Security program offered its "middle of the road kids" mili-tary- and security-oriented alternatives to dropping out of high school and a pathway to disrupt the "generational poverty" and criminaliza-tion they experienced daily. In this way, Milton served as a site of "secu-ritized social reproduction," a process that cycles young people of color between the military and prisons.[64] In this formulation, the military and prison act as a "means of managing the poor, and of warehousing reserve armies of labor."[65] By preparing many of Milton's Homeland Security students to be "military grunts," the program contributed to this warehousing.

Yet the potential for Milton students to obtain vocational national security jobs that offered the possibility of upward mobility indicates that the program also diverged from this cycling of bodies through the military and prison system. On one hand, Milton emphasized working-class labor skills like punctuality, obedience, and respect for authority, thus treating students "as raw materials on a production line."[66] On the other hand, the program departed from what Mr. Hopkins referred to as preparing "kids from blue-collar backgrounds who will get blue-collar jobs" or who will "stand the post" as "military grunts." Industry partners and teachers all expressed a desire to teach Milton students "leadership skills" to "move up in their careers." Eleventh grader Jared, for instance, recounted how the program improved his public speaking skills and taught him how to network with industry leaders:

> JARED: We learned important things like how to present yourself
>   'cause we had projects that we had to present to other agencies
>   and at other colleges. And they would come and we would have

> to present ourselves. We had business cards. It was pretty real.
> They would e-mail us and talk to us and stuff.
>
> NICOLE: So like what kind of business or like what kind of people were
> they?
>
> JARED: It was, it was like Northrop Grumman. It was . . . technical
> schools, and, I think that was really it. And they came and they
> asked us, "What's this?" And then we would tell them, present our-
> selves, hand out the cards, and then either e-mail us or not. That
> was their choice, but that's what happens.

Here Jared displayed his knowledge of how to meet and mingle with na-
tional security industry leaders and how to follow up with them after-
ward through e-mail. Other students echoed Jared, relaying accounts of
learning how to speak in public, interview, and network with high-level
security experts.

As potential-but-not-yet-surplus youth, Milton students gained the
social and cultural capital needed to qualify for entry-level jobs in the
security industry that could "turn into stable careers" and for military
enlistment.[67] Cycling some students into the military, Milton main-
tained the circuitry of securitized social reproduction. Yet the Home-
land Security program also disrupted this circuitry, as "one or two" stu-
dents, according to Mr. Hopkins's accounting, gained the skills needed
to go to college or obtain upwardly mobile jobs. By teaching Milton
students how to network, speak in public, write, and lead teams, the
program prepared them for white-collar work and carved out career op-
portunities beyond military conscription. From what I learned through
my observations, a handful of graduating students even went on to en-
roll in homeland security programs at two- and four-year institutions
or secured jobs in the field. In an interview, Ms. Thomas enthusiasti-
cally asserted that "100 percent of [2012 graduates] either went to col-
lege or military. One hundred percent. And for me, that spells success,
because these were your average, run-of-the-mill kids, in terms of what
was on paper, because I more than anything, anybody will tell you that
my kids were more than anything but average, you know?" These op-
portunities indicate that Milton both contributed to and ruptured the
cycle of funneling poor and working-class youth of color into the mili-
tary or prisons.

My observations of Milton's Homeland Security program confirmed

Mr. Hopkins's claim that "one or two students" continued on with their studies at a four-year college. I knew of a few other students who secured internships at the NSA and DISA. Yet, as I finished my fieldwork at Milton, the school's success in preparing students for national security jobs remained unclear. I found little evidence that corroborated or conflicted with Ms. Thomas's claim that all of her students went to college or into the military. Because I worked most closely with ninth- and tenth-grade students, and because Milton did not track students after graduation, I never ascertained how many students continued on with their national security studies, how many enlisted in the military or in security industry work, and how many students chose other career paths. Milton did invite two graduates enrolled in a four-year cybersecurity college program back to the school to speak with current students. Yet the Homeland Security program often leaned on these same two students for different speaking engagements and even a field trip to visit their college's Cyber Battle Lab. From my experience, these were the only two students enrolled in a four-year homeland security program, but this could simply be because the school did not stay in contact with other students. At the time, Milton had begun forging pathways to local community colleges with their own homeland security programs of study. Thus how successful the program was in funneling students into the security industry and how their education shaped their everyday work in these jobs falls outside the purview of this research study. Still, Milton attempted to carve out pathways to local community colleges, military enlistment, and national security jobs.

Homeland Security Education in Flux

As these competing expectations and disparate outcomes for students illustrate, Milton was not without contradictions. Teachers, students, administrators, and security industry partners often articulated competing objectives and agendas for the program. School staff routinely debated the purposes of public schooling for their students, the role of the security industry in designing curricula, and the kinds of jobs students might obtain upon graduation. The establishment of public–private partnerships with the security industry, the shift to training Milton students for jobs, and the move to redesign the school's curriculum around

national security unfolded chaotically as school staff worked to make sense of and carry out this dynamic educational agenda.

These struggles produced differing agendas for the program. In one way, the program simply engaged students in school through the Homeland Security Trademark. Ongoing collaborations with the school allowed the national security industry to "give back" to the community. The program fostered excitement and a sense of belonging that contributed to student success and improved school culture. In another way, the program sought, explicitly, to prepare students to enlist in the military or qualify for vocational jobs in the security industry. Most Milton school staff justified, and even lauded, the Homeland Security program, as it provided the school's "rough," "rowdy," and "difficult" students the opportunity to "stop screwing up." In crafting these various goals, school staff responded to both the perceived needs of their students and the demands imposed by the security industry.

Although they never contested the homeland security theme, Milton students and school staff struggled over the competing purpose(s) of public schooling and searched to define their roles within a dynamically militarizing, corporatizing, and securitizing institution. Teachers and young people resisted, accepted, and sometimes ignored these prevailing definitions of the role of schooling, the creep of militarism into everyday life, and what Giroux refers to as the "ideology of corporate culture" as they tried to understand the changes under way at their school.[68] Some school staff hesitated at enrolling their own white, middle-class children in the program. In doing so, they tried to make sense of how their racialized and classed interpretations shaped the kind of schooling they thought Milton children deserved.

Mr. Samuel butted heads with FCPS administrators about the direction of the program and his, and his company's, role in it. Teachers bemoaned a lack out autonomy and voice in the program while making decisions without the consultation of administrators or security industry partners. At the same time, teachers relied heavily on the "expert knowledge" of security industry partners who shaped their vocabularies and course content. Ms. Perez intended to teach her students basic behaviors valued in the workplace while Mr. Ross wanted to ensure that his students were "prepared for success outside, when they leave Milton High School," even if they "want nothing to do with

homeland security or that type of field." A handful of students disengaged from their Homeland Security classes, dreaming of careers outside of national security, including professional football and music. But many others eagerly contributed to class discussions and boasted about their participation in the program. Some students recognized that the Homeland Security program was fun and offered opportunities to secure high-paying jobs after graduation and to defend the homeland.

Although Milton installed a complex Homeland Security program complete with newly designed courses, field trips, and guest speakers, much was still in flux as teachers struggled to define the purpose of education, the role of the national security industry in the school, the needs of students, and their own expectations. Milton's story thus illustrates how neoliberalization, militarization, and securitization unfold sometimes in turbulent or contradictory ways as people work to make sense of and negotiate the new norms and practices imposed by these social processes. Although newspaper articles and even brief visits to the school might tell a story of a coherent and well-planned school reform project, my extended time at Milton revealed that power struggles, contestations, and confusion often defined daily life in the program. Students and teachers alike grappled with dynamic shifts in the school and local community and worked to make sense of how education could serve their needs, and to what ends.

As Milton's many stakeholders sussed out their goals, interests, and expectations, they developed an intense and innovative curriculum for their students that sought to train students in the technical skills needed for work in the security industry. It is to this curriculum that I now turn.

Teaching Terrorism
Inside the Homeland Security Program

> What mattered for terror was how it passed from mouth to
> mouth across a nation, from page to page, from image to body.
>
> —MICHAEL TAUSSIG, *The Nervous System*

As Milton's original Homeland Security program coordinator Ms. Thomas glanced down at my digital recorder, she gushed with enthusiasm. Now a vice principal at another school district, Ms. Thomas leaned back in her chair and reminisced about her "babies" at Milton. Our discussion was chaotic, periodically interrupted by police officers who filtered in and out of Ms. Thomas's office to handle a student incident. Despite the commotion, each time Ms. Thomas sat back down to talk with me, she beamed with pride. Fiercely caring, Ms. Thomas wanted to communicate how Milton's Homeland Security program formed a sense of belonging among her "babies" and provided them with an engaging, work-oriented education. Her devotion to, and love for, her students could not be missed.

Trying to better understand how Milton fostered this sense of belonging, I asked Ms. Thomas for an example of a lesson plan or classroom experience that captured the essence of the program. She quickly exclaimed, "There's so many! There's so many! There's so many. So many things." Pausing, Ms. Thomas culled through her memories in search of the story that best encapsulated the program and students' experiences in it. After a few moments paging through her catalog of memories, she remembered one that represented the program:

> They do a really big research project on various terrorist organiza-
> tions. . . . They would take one domestic terrorist organization and a
> foreign terrorist organization and I had them do that because I think

> I kind of needed to wipe the slate clean of everything they had heard about terrorism, right? Because every time we hear terrorism, we tend to associate it with this Muslim extremist group or someone with a turban and so when we study domestic terrorist organizations, they get to find out, "Oh, my god! There are militias right here in our backyard." Literally.

For Ms. Thomas, these types of research projects helped "get kids in ninth grade that were barely functional reading students" to be "so excited on a Monday morning with a clip from the *New York Times* or the local newspaper about a current event that's going on with the world, or something that's going on globally. Or a conflict or something. Or a new security measure. Or a new technological piece." By cultivating a rich, current events–based classroom, Ms. Thomas's babies suddenly "read the newspaper," consulted CNN, brought relevant news stories to school, and actively engaged in class discussions. Her students "couldn't leave the discussion in the classroom," as she always found students "still bantering about it" in the hall after class. Students wanted to discuss what they had read about these current events, constantly asking Ms. Thomas, "Did you know this happened and this happened?" For Ms. Thomas, this response to the program was "really exciting. Really exciting."

This chapter tracks students' vibrant and enthusiastic journeys through these "really exciting" classroom activities, field trips, and events. By exploring everyday life in the program, its curriculum, and its culture, I trace how students learned about "various terrorist organizations" and the militarized measures that worked to "do something" in response to these perceived threats "right in our backyard." In this exploration of Milton's curriculum, I pay careful attention to *which* topics school staff chose for its Homeland Security curriculum and the implications of *how* teachers talked about, explained, and valued these topics. School staff, after all, conveyed and diffused *particular* beliefs, sentiments, ideologies, histories, knowledges, and vocabularies used to make sense of terrorism. To explore Milton's curriculum in this way, I first provide information on the two Homeland Security teachers and an overview of the program's curricular components. I then investigate, in depth, what this curriculum communicated to students about national security, war, and their futures.

Meet the Teachers

At the time of my fieldwork, Milton's Homeland Security program underwent several personnel changes. Original Homeland Security program coordinator Mr. Sanford retired, and Homeland Security department chair Ms. Thomas accepted a vice principal's job at another school district. As such, Milton appointed longtime mathematics teacher Mr. Hopkins as the new Homeland Security program coordinator. The school also selected Homeland Security teacher Mr. Ross to serve as the new department chair. In addition to his new responsibilities, Mr. Ross continued to teach GIS courses to Homeland Security students. Milton then hired first-year teacher Ms. Perez to teach the program's core classes.[1]

Ms. Perez received a bachelor's degree in political science and, after a short stint as a legislative aide, completed a master's degree in social studies education. Before his arrival at Milton, Mr. Ross taught general social studies courses like world geography and government for ten years. To "gain credibility" with his students as a Homeland Security and GIS teacher, Mr. Ross chose to go back to school after his first year at Milton. Mr. Ross earned a master's degree in homeland security management and a certification in GIS. At the time of my fieldwork, FCPS administrators had begun pressuring Ms. Perez to spend her upcoming summer earning a certification in GIS, which she resisted.

Curriculum Overview

At the Homeland Security program's inception, Milton school staff recognized that to successfully train young people for work in the national security industry, they needed to consult industry experts. As Mr. Sanford advised, "if you're going to have a Homeland Security program, you need to talk to the people who are actually in homeland security." As such, Mr. Sanford and other Milton teachers "met three or four times with those folks and they would sit around at a bunch of tables and tell their stories and then the teachers took the stories and put them in the lesson plans." Through these collaborative sessions, Milton school staff and national security experts tailored the school's curriculum to meet the needs of the industry.

Milton organized its program around five core strands. First, students in the program enrolled in two newly designed courses for their freshman and sophomore years: Foundations of Homeland Security 1

and 2. Second, for their junior and senior years, students chose a "career channel" based on their career interests like GIS. Third, students participated in what the school referred to as supplements—opportunities to learn more about the national security industry through relevant guest speakers and field trips. Fourth, because the school moved to what it called a "whole-school" model, Milton required that all teachers apply their content areas to national security in some way (called "applications"). Finally, school administrators worked on developing a "pipeline initiative," an effort to incorporate the national security theme and content into Milton's middle and elementary schools. Together, Milton's Homeland Security program intended to comprehensively prepare its students for entry into the security industry while improving graduation rates.

FOUNDATIONS OF HOMELAND SECURITY 1 AND 2

As eighth graders, students in Milton's two feeder middle schools[2] could fill out an application indicating their interest in the high school Homeland Security program. With a required parent or guardian signature, students were then eligible to enroll in the program. To garner the interest of these middle school students, Mr. Hopkins, Ms. Perez, and Mr. Ross organized "recruiting events" at local middle schools. At these events, current Homeland Security students detailed the field trips they attended and the hands-on learning opportunities available to them through the program. On occasion, Milton students signed up for the program at the end of their freshman year based on the enthusiasm of their friends or shifts in their career interests. Approximately 100–120 students enrolled in the program each year, split evenly across genders.

Once they signed up for the program, Milton students enrolled in Foundations of Homeland Security 1 and 2 for their freshman and sophomore years. These year-long courses introduced students to issues of national security and emergency response strategies. These Homeland Security classes served as the substantive heart of Milton's program, pulsing with the foundational knowledge, energy, and enthusiasm about national security that students themselves came to exude. Like many students, tenth grader Tamara told me, "Homeland Security is my favorite subject in school."

Ms. Perez, Milton's sole Homeland Security 1 and 2 teacher at the time of my fieldwork, explained the goals of these "favorite" classes to me:

So, Homeland Security 1 is technically called Foundations of Homeland Security 1 and that is more of a general overview of different topics. So obviously terrorism is in there. School safety. Emergency management. Bioterrorism. Cyberterrorism. . . . So it's just kind of like touching on a lot of different things. Foundations of Homeland Security 2 is more of a focus on emergency management and potential threats against the critical infrastructure and key resources, so that's more of a focus there. So it takes that part of what they learn in Homeland Security 1 and focuses.

Homeland Security 1 provided students with an overview of different national security threats, while Homeland Security 2 offered students a more focused study of emergency management, response, and recovery procedures.

In our discussion, Ms. Perez talked through the objectives for her courses. The State Department of Education (SDE) issued this set of objectives to Milton and required Ms. Perez to organize all of her lesson plans according to these objectives. The SDE created these objectives through initial and ongoing conversations with security industry partners about the skills, topics, and issues that would organize the program. Milton developed its program from the perspective of national security experts. Ms. Perez handed me the list of objectives for Homeland Security 1:

- Define terrorism and explore the social, political, economic, and religious motives found in terrorist ideologies.
- Analyze the issues that frame the current debate on U.S. policy on terrorism.
- Explore the local, state, federal, and industry roles in emergency management.
- Explain the National Incident Management System.
- Apply the disaster management cycle and an all-hazard emergency management process.
- Analyze emergency management responses to natural disasters like Hurricane Katrina.
- Examine the role of citizens in emergency management.
- Evaluate school safety in modern education.
- Develop a school safety plan.

- Analyze the evolution of cybersecurity threats and current challenges.
- Define cyberbullying and explore the impact of cyberbullying.
- Analyze the response to chemical and bioagent releases by federal, state, and local agencies.
- Analyze government policy issues, agency coordination, and field operations as they pertain to event management.
- Analyze the role of media, critical stress management, business community, the private sector in the mitigation and recovery of terrorist-initiated events.
- Explore the process for obtaining security clearances.
- Explore the careers available in Homeland Security and Emergency Management.
- Analyze the need to identify and defend against pathogens, chemical, and biological contaminants of foods we eat.
- Develop a plan of response to incidents of intentional food contamination and contamination by natural disasters.
- Explain the roles of the local, state, and federal agencies prior to and during an agricultural or food system disaster.
- Analyze and debate the impact of homeland security policies on civil liberties.

Through Homeland Security 1, students developed an extensive understanding of the national security threats the United States faced.

After completing this course, students enrolled in Foundations of Homeland Security 2. The SDE stated that in this course, students learned to

- Identify threats to Homeland Security on a federal, state, local, and personal level.
- Analyze the various elements of Emergency Response and the interrelationship of the emergency response Agencies and supporting elements in accordance with the guidelines of the National Response Plan.
- Identify and describe the various roles of government agencies.
- Identify and describe the various roles of supporting agencies involved in Homeland Security and Emergency Response.
- Analyze the relationships between federal, state and local agencies.

- Describe the interdependency of various levels of governmental and nongovernmental organizations.
- Identify and explain preparation, response, recovery, and evaluation from threats to Public Health and Safety.
- Identify and describe the types of Natural/Non-intentional Manmade Disasters and what efforts are conducted to prepare for them.
- Compare psychological, cultural, and sociological perspectives and their impact on Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.
- Explain and demonstrate their personal and community responsibilities in Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness.
- Prepare a safety, security, and Emergency Preparedness plan.
- Recognize the responsibility of the individual as defined by the National Response Plan guidelines and recommendations.

Through Homeland Security 2, students explored how federal, state, local, and private agencies prevented, responded to, and managed issues of national security.

As a first-year teacher certified to teach social studies courses but without a background in national security, Ms. Perez appreciated these detailed objectives. However, she also complained that she had no other resources available to her to develop her specialized classes. To prepare her lesson plans, Ms. Perez relied on conducting her own research to determine which national security topics were important. She regularly consulted the Internet, twenty-four-hour news outlets, and various books on national security. Moreover, she and Mr. Ross used what they learned on school field trips and from guest speakers to keep their course content relevant and up to date. Mr. Ross could often be found writing scrupulous notes on field trips and during guest lectures.

Because I observed her Homeland Security 2 class that day, Ms. Perez used that day's lesson plan on critical infrastructure and key resources (CIKR)[3] to show me how she created lessons based off the state-mandated objectives. The class analyzed threats to the U.S. energy infrastructure, which she linked directly to the list of objectives she held in her hand:

So, today I decided to choose this *[pauses]*. Objectives for Homeland Security 2 is "Prepare a safety, security, and Emergency Preparedness plan." So if the power grid goes out, you know, we need to talk about

safety, security, and emergency preparedness for that. . . . They need
to start thinking about, "Okay, here's a potential problem." "Analyze
the relationships between federal, state, and local agencies." So
that also could, that would also need to have the private sector too
because most of what I showed them today was the Department of
Energy, so that's federal. But then City Gas and Electric, which is a
private company, is coming in and speaking to them about the same
thing. So how are they working together? . . . "Identify threats to
Homeland Security on federal, state, and local and personal level[s]."
If that power grid is now run through the Internet and we have cyber-
hackers, now that's a potential threat, so I need to talk to them about
that. . . . There's Homeland Security Presidential Directive 7[4] and that
directive outlines all our critical infrastructures. There is eighteen,
I want to say, so any kind of threat on any of those eighteen critical
infrastructures, we need to talk about in class. How do we prepare for
it when it happens and when there's an emergency situation? How do
we prepare?

In this example, Ms. Perez intended to introduce students to the eighteen
critical infrastructures. She planned to teach students how to anticipate
potential terrorist threats against these infrastructures and how dif-
ferent agencies responded to these threats. Ms. Perez even invited rep-
resentatives from City Gas and Electric to her class to detail the secu-
rity measures their company used to combat threats to the power grid.
Moving through the course's broad objectives in class, Ms. Perez also
mapped the threats against water filtration plants and nuclear reactors,
including water contamination, cyberhackers, and nuclear meltdowns.

As Ms. Perez detailed this lesson, I recognized that she was still in
the process of developing her plans for the day. Her hesitations indi-
cated not only her status as a new teacher but also the lack of premade
homeland security lesson plans available to her. With few templates to
consult, Ms. Perez needed to find her own ways to interpret national
security content and then translate this information into a fun and en-
gaging lesson plan.

To prime students to think deeply about these national security top-
ics, Ms. Perez outlined the day's objective on the classroom's side white-
board. These objectives usually included a daily warm-up, a short writing

prompt students completed at the beginning of class. Ms. Perez carefully chose provocative prompts that elicited excitement about that day's topic. Some of these class objectives and warm-ups included the following:

- We will examine school safety. Describe the "quick fix" to school safety Milton could put in place now.[5]
- We will examine and discuss current issues in the world affecting Energy and Public Health (CIKR). What would happen if we had a nuclear meltdown? Explain. What would happen if our drinking water supply was compromised?
- We will examine biological agents and create a "quick fact" sheet, including the name, category, definition, how is it transmitted, symptoms, and free category. List as many biological agents as you can that pose a threat to national security.
- We will examine key players and federal responses by analyzing the National Response Framework. What jurisdictions might ask for assistance in an emergency/disaster?
- Besides death, why would a terrorist attack U.S. agriculture?
- We will create posters to describe cybercrimes. Give three examples of "general intrusion" cybercrimes.
- We will research historical sites in NYC relating to 9/11. What historical sites have you visited in NYC? If you haven't, what do you want to visit?
- We will examine new technology for school safety. Describe what you would create to keep schools safe.
- We will examine online identity theft and research 10 ways to prevent it. Provide three examples of identity theft.

As these examples illustrate, Homeland Security 1 and 2 focused primarily on perceived threats to the U.S. homeland and how to respond to these threats according to federal, state, and local legislation. Enticingly posed, these objectives and their attendant warm-ups fostered enthusiasm for class discussion from the moment the bell rang.

CAREER CHANNELS

After completing this two-year course sequence, students then chose a career channel based on their career aspirations. These career channels

included GIS, criminal justice, and science and engineering. During the 2012–13 school year, many students selected Geographic Information Systems, a two-year course taught by GIS-certified Mr. Ross.[6] At the time of my fieldwork, the other two career channels remained undeveloped: although students could enroll in criminal justice or science and engineering courses regularly offered at Milton, these classes were not formally part of the Homeland Security program.

Mr. Ross taught approximately sixty to eighty GIS students every year, peaking at eighty-five at the time of my fieldwork. The course's popularity even attracted students not formally matriculated into the Homeland Security program. This growth required an additional GIS-certified teacher. Milton students typically chose to enroll in this career channel because it offered them the opportunity to earn an official GIS Spatial Technology and Remote Sensing (STARS) certification upon submitting a final capstone project to Digital Quest, the GIS software sponsor and technology provider. GIS served as a credentialing course and acted as a Career and Technology Education "career completer." This course sequence intended to train students for what the Board of Education called "gainful employment" in the GIS field upon graduation. The Digital Quest STARS certification indicates to potential employers that the certified student maintains the skills needed for an entry-level position as a geospatial technician.

To attract students into these classes, Mr. Ross emphasized students' possible earnings in promotional materials:

> Geospatial technology is impacting your daily life. GPS, Google Earth, satellite imagery, homeland security, military defense, politics, news, social networking, smart phones, tracking crime, bus routing; geospatial technology is all around you. Your career will use geospatial solutions. Learn to use it now and make an impact on your life, community, and future! Salaries range from $31,387 to $83,333 (add another $15,000–$20,000 with a security clearance).

Given these framings of GIS and its perceived financial utility, Milton students readily understood that earning a GIS certification offered them the possibility of a stable job with a steady income. Eleventh grader Tiffany, for instance, described how she hoped to apply her GIS skills in her future career:

> I would like to make maps for an organization through GIS 'cause it's—now that we do it—it's just a piece of cake. It's just, since we do it now, so if we can do that when we're older: *makin' money makin' maps.* I don't have a problem with that. It's not that hard.

Mr. Samuel, an owner of a nearby security company, proudly enthused that when he "look[ed] at the school today and the Homeland Security program, the GIS program, some of the different tracks they have going on," it was "very evident that the school is moving into more real-world situations." Through "real-world-based activities," Mr. Samuel beamed, "students are coming out better prepared to get jobs." Tiffany and Mr. Samuel lauded the GIS program as it allowed students to qualify for GIS jobs.

Through the "real-world-based" GIS map-making sequence, students learned how to create 2-D and 3-D maps. Feeling my way through this curriculum, I asked some students what kind of maps they made in class. Eleventh grader Derek proudly told me about the 2-D maps he created:

> One of the things we did was we searched up crime statistics in Franklin County and showed the high-crime areas in the particular area of the county. Another thing we did was showing how a company could better its driving routes to reach more customers in a shorter amount of time.

Other maps included plotting local neighborhoods or national sites like the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument. Some of these projects, as Derek's examples showed, communicated to students the role of map making in increasing efficiency, charting crime rates, and locating particular landmarks important to U.S. history.[7]

Given that, at the time, Milton had only fully developed the GIS career channel, the program rethought both the types of channels it offered and how the school would support them. In January 2014, Milton announced that, in addition to GIS, it would offer a new National Security Intelligence course. Launched at the beginning of the 2014–15 school year, Milton publicized that this course provided students with an "in-depth view of terrorism, transnational criminal enterprise, and the intelligence process," "psychological and sociological features of

terrorism and the impact of 9/11 on American security policies," and "intelligence collection methodologies, intelligence tasking processes, and intelligence analysis practices." Additionally, the school announced a new Securing Critical Infrastructures course under development. These curricular readjustments attempted to account for the vicissitudes in the national security industry as well as the resources Milton could adequately sustain year after year.

SUPPLEMENTS

Given the program's emphasis on real-world training, Milton also offered its students dozens of field trips, guest lectures by industry experts, and hands-on training modules. These supplements provided intimate insight into the security industry and fostered much enthusiasm among students and teachers. Milton proudly advertised these opportunities throughout the school and in the community, boasting in a newsletter at the end of my fieldwork that

> the past school year has been an especially active one in the Homeland Security program. Students were exposed to a wide variety of professionals and careers throughout the year thanks to our community and business partnerships. These partnerships provide our students with engaging experiences that they may not get otherwise.

Some of these "engaging experiences" that "exposed" students to a "wide variety of professionals and careers" through "community and business partnerships" included a high-level NSA Threat Operations expert who discussed signals intelligence (SIGINT[8]); a trip to a local college's Cyber Battle Lab, where students learned about "penetration testing"[9] and cyberdefense; an FBI specialist who spoke to students about international terrorism; a doctor from the National Institute of Allergenic and Infectious Diseases who provided a historical overview of bioweapons; a NIST research chemist who showed students how to detect trace explosives; and an annual end-of-the-year celebratory trip to the 9/11 memorial in New York City. Students also interned at DISA and the NSA.

Several Milton students expressed appreciation for these opportunities that allowed them to learn outside of the schoolhouse in ways that connected to future jobs. Eleventh grader Jamal, for instance, told me

FIGURE 8. *Milton students briefly observed as police recruits learned to respond to mass demonstrations on a field trip to the State Police Academy.*

about his experience visiting the FBI Teen Academy over a year before my interview with him:

> We just learned, you know, different positions of what they do. We went to the armory. We looked at the weapons. Looked at the car that they drive. Different agents came to talk to us. Different people, like, you know, their translators, or the people that do IT work, the forensics, like what the *real* forensics looks like and what they do instead of like *CSI* [the television series].

Jamal also explained that he valued the chance to learn about the FBI in such a hands-on way, a kind of learning absent from his other classes.

As these examples illustrate, Milton's Homeland Security program offered its students a number of opportunities to learn more about the national security industry firsthand. The participation of so many security industry partners helped the school provide expertise and resources to Milton students enrolled in the program.

APPLICATIONS

In addition to these supplements, FCPS required that all teachers incorporate the Trademark theme into their classes in some way. This meant that Milton mathematics, science, English, and social studies teachers needed to integrate the school's Homeland Security Trademark into their classes every few weeks with the help of industry partners.[10] These applications sought to build a cohesive school identity. According to Mr. Ross,

> they're lessons that are tied into homeland security that take, for example, for a government class, they would do the *Lost* lesson. . . . Are you familiar with that lesson? They would, so they would establish a government and how do you secure government or your people when you're creating a whole new country of people who've lost, who've gotten lost on an island and gotten stuck? They would look at different types of biological agents that would have mass impact, whether it's an epidemic or a weapon.

Milton teachers across disciplines creatively rewrote their curricula to incorporate national security issues into their classrooms.

Searching for more examples to illustrate this curriculum redesign, I asked Mr. Sanford for more information. He readily obliged:

> I always thought that if you taught homeland, if you taught *Romeo and Juliet . . .* 'cause everybody says how come if Romeo gets kicked out of town, what's so bad about that? But if you were banished in those days, and you got kicked out, it was a death sentence. If they didn't get killed by the people out there, you died of the plague. So. The plague. The plague? What's the plague? So you could develop and go talk about plague and what it means, how it happens, why it's still a threat and if you did it for one or two days and that ties in the homeland security. That's how it works.

Here Mr. Sanford connected *Romeo and Juliet* to national security in his own English class. The Homeland Security Trademark, however, did not come to define his English class. Not all texts were read and interpreted for their national security value; rather, the national security theme became an additional way for teachers and students to engage course

material every few weeks, whether learning about the plague in English, about how to secure a government in social studies, or about chemical weapons in science.

Some teachers like Ms. Simmons took this mandate seriously. Others resisted yet another demand to rewrite their curricula. I never, however, encountered a teacher who questioned or critiqued, at least to me, the choice of a Homeland Security theme. Moreover, I never heard a single account of a teacher leaving Milton because of its choice of Trademark. From my vantage point, the only resistance to the Homeland Security program came from teachers who experienced several iterations of school reform programs. They hesitated at rewriting their curricula—nicknamed the "C word"—because they had witnessed so many programs come and go through the years that they were not convinced the Homeland Security program would persist. Teachers enthusiastic about the program like Ms. Simmons often spearheaded curricular rewrites. Other teachers opted to ignore, or at least downplay, the role of the Trademark in their own classrooms. On the whole, school staff suggested that branding the school with this Homeland Security identity cultivated a sense of belonging otherwise absent in such a large school. The implementation of the Homeland Security Trademark and sense of community even spread to Milton's middle and elementary school classrooms.

Pipeline Initiative

During the 2012–13 school year, Franklin County Public Schools began developing what it called a "pipeline initiative" with Milton's elementary and middle schools. Principal Young explained that this "kindergarten to career pipeline" sought to track, prepare, and excite children for work in the national security industry at the earliest possible age. Mr. Samuel, owner of a national security company and TCP chair, passionately detailed this pipeline initiative in an interview:

> We think it's critical because we need to catch them at that early age, present it to 'em. So instead of math class you're doing 1 + 1, put that emergency management twist to it: 1 fire truck + 1 fire truck = 2 fire trucks. Or if a fire truck and a policeman arrive at the scene at such and such a time, who gets there first? You know, little, little twists

like that starts them thinking, "That's emergency management!" . . .
And so, and now by the time you get to high school, we got GIS classes
there. You throw in the Google Earth, transportation safety, exit
strategies. But it starts all the way down to that 1 fire truck + 1 fire
truck = 2 fire trucks. . . . Now high school, when I talk to them, it's at a
much higher level in terms of real cybersecurity, and the Department
of Defense, and these are some of the things the Army is doing. These
are some of the things the Navy is doing.

Mr. Samuel stressed the importance of encouraging children to think
about emergency management at an early age so that they would be bet-
ter prepared to begin the Homeland Security program in high school.

Using similar language, Mr. Nash of Northrop Grumman also em-
phasized the importance of "exposing kids early on" to national secu-
rity issues. Like Mr. Samuel, Mr. Nash articulated that one way to "plant
a seed at the youngest age" was to expose elementary school students
to national security. Mr. Nash even used the same example of how to
engage younger students: "instead of 2 apples + 2 apples, you can do
2 fire engines + 2 fire engines to talk about community and emergency
response." As these interviews illustrate, school staff and industry part-
ners pushed the pipeline initiative because they viewed it as a "critical"
tool to effectively "plant a seed at the youngest age" and draw children
into security industry work "early on."

Like their industry partners, school staff articulated the impor-
tance of infusing issues of national security into elementary and middle
school curricula. Program coordinator Mr. Hopkins, for instance, ex-
plained, "My philosophy is that it's never too early to get kids thinking
about their careers." Guided by this philosophy, Mr. Hopkins often in-
vited Milton Middle School students to some of the Homeland Security
events at the high school. He also recruited eighth graders to sign up
for the program at all of Milton's feeder middle schools each winter.
In doing so, Milton hoped to funnel its high school graduates into the
security industry or into the military, completing the "kindergarten to
career pipeline."

Students of all ages, of course, were often bombarded with messages
that encouraged them to think about careers in the military and secu-
rity industry, whether through video games like *Call of Duty,* military
commercials on TV, or securitized advertisements plastered around

their community. On a school field trip to a local college's Cyber Battle Lab, for instance, fliers displayed this message next to photos of Uncle Sam and silhouettes of armed soldiers: "Do you have what it takes to be a cyber-warrior? Enlist in the Cyber Battle Lab. Team recruitment officers request your presence to discuss your future." Written like a military enlistment brochure, these posters called students to enlist as "cyberwarriors" to defend their nation. Milton students then toured the college's Cyber Battle Lab, where professors encouraged them to think about an education and eventual career in the booming cybersecurity industry to protect the United States.

Milton's Homeland Security program provided students with the foundational knowledge, technical skills, and enthusiasm needed to pursue vocational jobs in the national security industry. Yet how did these curricular components frame the perceived problem of terrorism and solutions to it? How did the program cultivate students' understanding of national security threats and the appropriate measures used to defend against these threats?

The Bad Guys: Hackers, Criminals, Terrorists, and Nation-States

During my time at Milton, Mr. Ross, Ms. Perez, and Mr. Hopkins attended a national security conference "to see General Hayden who was the director of the CIA and before that the NSA" and who "got all the heat for waterboarding."[11] For Mr. Ross, the conference afforded Ms. Perez the opportunity to "see what the bigwigs think are the greatest threats so she can then address them in the classroom." Ms. Perez applied "what the bigwigs think are the greatest threats" to her own lesson plans. These "greatest threats" and the countermeasures used to defend the United States organized Milton's Homeland Security program. The knowledge, skills, and threats privileged by national security experts like General Hayden informed Milton's curriculum.

In translating national security issues into the classroom, Ms. Perez and guest speakers often followed a familiar pattern each lesson. First, they outlined a national security threat like agroterrorism, cyberattacks, or chemical warfare. Then, students explored how these security risks threatened the United States. Finally, students learned, and sometimes practiced, the militarized "countermeasures" and "response, mitigation, and recovery procedures" used to prevent, thwart,

or respond to terrorist acts. By discussing terrorism this way, Milton framed the United States not as an aggressor but as a defensive nation that only used war as a way to secure its homeland.[12] Students, in turn, eagerly sought to enact these practices as national security workers or vigilant citizens.

To better animate this calculated curricular path and its effects, I walk through a presentation by Lou Vitale, an NSA Threat Operations expert who spoke to approximately a hundred students from Milton Middle and Milton High schools. In his rendering of the NSA's daily operations, Mr. Vitale deftly engaged students using humor, visuals, and a style of presentation that helped students understand complex issues in a fun and accessible way. I read students as excited to hear from such a high-level NSA official. They remained attentive, eagerly responding to Mr. Vitale's questions throughout his ninety-minute presentation.

Mr. Vitale titled his talk after NSA's motto, "Defending Our Nation, Securing the Future," a strategy that worked to immediately situate the United States as defensive. First, Mr. Vitale asked students to yell out what they thought the NSA did. Students quickly shouted answers like, "They defend our nation" and "They keep us alive!" Repeating their responses, Mr. Vitale confirmed students' answers.

After rendering an image of the NSA's "good guys" who "keep us alive," Mr. Vitale described the "bad guys" in the cyberdomain and the threats they posed:

> Sometimes we refer to the bad guys as *the threat.* And this is kind of our definition: it's any circumstance or event that *has the potential* to *adversely impact* an information system, mostly computer systems, through unauthorized access, destruction, disclosure of information, modification of information, or denial of service. . . . *We're being attacked,* hacked, exploited, probed, whatever word you like, so many times a day. Not only can we not see them all, we cannot count them all, and what scares us is what we don't know and we don't know what we don't know. (emphasis original)

Mr. Vitale painted an image of the United States as utterly vulnerable to countless cyberthreats waged by the bad guys. These bad guys rendered the United States the "most vulnerable nation on the planet."

Yet just who were these bad guys? "These threats," Mr. Vitale con-

tended, "are hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states." Used frequently in Mr. Vitale's talk, "hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states" became a readily available set of vocabularies for students to think about the bad guys and the threats they posed.[13] In addition to these threats, Mr. Vitale warned students that the "big threat" to the "government and us" is the "insider threat": "people who work for [the United States] and do silly things." Many bad guys, in other words, constituted a constant threat to the United States.

Students gasped as they learned about all of these terrorist threats, including those the United States could neither see nor count. Provoking even more shock and awe, Mr. Vitale then asked students to define *vulnerable.* A student yelled out, "To be attacked easily." Confirming her definition, Mr. Vitale responded, "Right now there's a lot of bad guys out in the world, bad guys like hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states, who are developing capabilities, who are working to exploit the vulnerabilities. . . . So we are *vulnerable.*" Mr. Vitale portrayed these potentially catastrophic vulnerabilities posed by the bad guys as both imminent and ubiquitous. The United States could "be attacked easily" by "bad guys like hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states."

Reiterating the thousands of cyberthreats the United States faced, Mr. Vitale then asked students to "do the math" to quantify "unknown threats":

MR. VITALE: Does anyone know how many people are connected to the Internet today?

STUDENT: A lot!

MR. VITALE, *pointing to his PowerPoint slide*: A lot? That says 2.2, but the new number is 2.4 billion. That's how many people are connected to the Internet. Now, does anyone know how many devices each person owns that's connected to the Internet? I counted mine the other day: I got two computers at home. I got a TV. I got a Sirius radio in my Jeep. I got a smartphone. I got at least five or six devices that connect to the network. Well, the number of devices that are currently out there, that number has matched the number of people on planet Earth. So, there are 7 billion people on Earth. There are 7 billion devices. Those devices, because the amount being manufactured, if that continues at that rate, in just a couple of years the number of devices are going to be two times

the number of the population, which means the people, 7 billion of them. Now let me ask you a question: of the 7 billion of them, which ones are good guys and which ones are bad guys?

SEVERAL STUDENTS, *calling out*: A lot of them!

MR. VITALE: That's a good answer. Of the 7 billion devices, where's all that bad stuff coming from? Which device? A virus? A botnet? Where's it coming from? So you're all math experts. Do the math. What are the possible combinations and possibilities that exist when you have 2.4 billion people who are connected with 7 billion devices? Do the math for me and tell me if you can figure it out of all those people which ones are the good guys and where all this bad stuff is coming from. It presents this huge, complex problem, doesn't it? So that's what we face every day. Guess what? We're working with a lot of unknown threats. . . . The United States is the most vulnerable nation on the planet. . . . Not only can we not see 'em, we cannot counter 'em. Again, do the math: 2.4 billion people connected; six devices per person. Which ones are the good guys? Which ones are the bad guys? And what vulnerabilities are they exploiting? Just do the math. Just do the permutations. Figure that out. It's impossible. So when you have a nation like us that's so dependent, so vulnerable, we're being hacked and whacked, and it's hurting us.

While Mr. Vitale implored students to "do the math" to determine which of the 7 million devices were "the bad guys," he reiterated that "it's impossible" to "figure that out." Seven billion devices posed ongoing national security threats, rendering the United States the "most vulnerable nation on the planet."

To draw out a sense of vulnerability, Mr. Vitale engaged Milton students in a call-and-response exercise that urged them to calculate and respond to terrorist threats:

MR. VITALE: How many vulnerabilities does a bad guy need to find?

STUDENTS, *in unison*: One!

MR. VITALE: One! Let me ask you this question: how many vulnerabilities exist in source code?

STUDENTS: A lot!

MR. VITALE: How many vulnerabilities exist in a network?

STUDENTS: A lot!

MR. VITALE: How many vulnerabilities exist in communications systems?

STUDENTS: A lot!

MR. VITALE: So guess what? *They win, you lose.* Let me put it this way. Let's say the Empire State Building is an information system. It stores, processes, transmits information. The Empire State Building. First question. Let's say every door and window is a vulnerability. First question. How many doors and windows does the Empire State Building have?

STUDENTS: A lot.

MR. VITALE: Guess what? It's your job to find 'em, find which ones are unlocked and locked. You don't even know how many there are! So the bad guys have an advantage 'cause they understand vulnerability. . . . The U.S. decision makers down there are being attacked, right? We're being attacked every day. But how do you go from there and you weave through all those possible combinations and attribute that attack to the bad guy? And who is that bad guy? Is it a criminal? Is it a nation-state? Who is it? We don't know. . . . Cyberattacks are hitting the United States hundreds of thousands of times a second! *[snaps fingers]* Like that! *[snaps fingers]* Now, if you're a decision maker and you're being attacked hundreds of thousands of times a second, how do you defend the United States? How do you protect the United States? How do you make sure that we try to figure out who are the bad guys? I'm just trying to show you the problems we face every day. It's a hard problem.

Given these threats, Mr. Vitale reiterated the impossibility of calculating "how many doors and windows the Empire State Building [has]" while calling on students to "do the permutations." Doing so produced a profound sense of vulnerability in Milton's large auditorium. Their attention captured, students leaned in intently as Mr. Vitale snapped his fingers to indicate how quickly the United States could be, and was, attacked by cyberterrorists. Such ubiquity of vulnerabilities meant that the United States could never achieve what Mr. Vitale called "total security." The bad guys, according to Mr. Vitale's calculation, would always render the United States vulnerable.

If, in the face of endless threats, total security proved impossible,

then students needed to vigilantly concentrate their energies on risk management. To "reduce the probability of you being attacked," students learned the risk management formula used to assess threats and determine the "appropriate countermeasure" to "reduce your risk":

> How many vulnerabilities exist? Well, you don't know 'cause you can't figure it out. It's too many. So this thing called *risk,* let me define that for you. Risk is the probability of you being attacked or exploited. So how do you reduce that possibility or that probability? Well, very simple. Apply some countermeasure. But what's the appropriate countermeasure? You're not gonna figure that out unless you come up with this formula right here: threat + vulnerability = risk. If you know the threats, if you know what their capabilities are, if you know what their intentions are, and you know where the vulnerabilities are, then you can apply some countermeasure and you can reduce your risk. But that's the best you can be, folks. That's the best you can be. *Reduced risk.*

In this part of his presentation, Mr. Vitale underscored the limits of risk assessment and "appropriate countermeasures," anxiously reminding students that "reduced risk" was "the best you can be." Despite the technological advances made by the NSA and increasing public vigilance, the United States could never escape this vulnerability, this capacity "to be attacked easily."

Mr. Vitale argued that, however unpredictable, national security risks could be calculated and, in turn, reduced by using his formula. Contradicting his earlier statements, Mr. Vitale suggested that security risks could be quantified, predicted, and thus managed. Although he initially entreated students to "do the permutations" to show the impossibility of such calculations, Mr. Vitale then insisted that terrorist threats could be managed through his risk formula. According to Mr. Vitale, the NSA applied the risk formula to objectively determine the "appropriate countermeasures" to "reduce risk."

Throughout his talk, Mr. Vitale worked this tension of quantifying unquantifiable risk until these contradictions no longer appeared as such. The looming problem of terrorism was both "impossible" to calculate and somehow still subjected to objective, mathematical assessments of risk: students, and the United States, could "do the math."[14]

This contradiction heightened fear and intensified the perceived importance and appropriateness of the NSA's tactics to calculate and manage terrorist threats.

In this anxious yet enthusiastic exchange with students, Mr. Vitale emphasized that the NSA worked to assess these cyberrisks but that this was a "hard problem" to manage. Mr. Vitale illustrated how cyberattacks hit the nation "hundreds of thousands of times a second." Sitting in Milton's spacious auditorium, I felt overwhelmed by this sense of vulnerability and the ubiquity of terrorist threats. Students, some hinged on the edges of their seats or actively calling out answers, also seemed to respond to this intense feeling of insecurity *and* excitement.

In this vibrant context defined by the impossibility of total security, Mr. Vitale stressed the importance of spying and espionage, countermeasures used to protect the United States from the hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states. As he discussed these countermeasures, Mr. Vitale relied on the vocabularies used to define the risk formula. As such, the risks, and the NSA's responses to these risks, appeared objectively measured and thus appropriate:

> Remember, cyberspace wasn't designed to be secure. It's a free network. Everyone can come and go whenever they want, do whatever they want. It's our job to make sure it's secure. So NSA tries to provide information through SIGINT on who the bad guys are, what their capabilities are, what their intentions are, what tools are they using, and then we will be able to defend against those bad guys.

As Mr. Vitale slipped into national security jargon that students quickly translated, he highlighted that the NSA's intelligence operations worked to "defend against those bad guys," not extend U.S. power. Despite cyberspace's status as a "free network," the NSA policed the cyberdomain, actively rendering certain actors "those bad guys" who could be targeted for and exposed to SIGINT tactics in the name of national security.

While Mr. Vitale portrayed SIGINT as a necessary tool of defense against "those bad guys," the Edward Snowden revelations jolted the U.S. public into a newfound awareness of the massive breadth and reach of the NSA's surveillance practices.[15] Former NSA employee Edward Snowden leaked classified information about the Agency's use of data-mining tools to gather, organize, and analyze billions of pieces

of metadata on global communications of U.S. citizens and foreigners alike, even if they had no connection to "terrorist" activity. During his nine-year tenure as NSA director, General Keith Alexander led the Agency with his "Collect it all" mantra, a strategy to gather all forms of human communication, including e-mails, telephone conversations, and Internet traffic, worldwide.[16]

Although Mr. Vitale's presentation came before these leaks, he carefully scripted the NSA's SIGINT efforts as a measured, and targeted, response to specific cyberthreats posed by the bad guys. In addition, the questionable legality and ethics of these measures, shrinking privacy, or expansion of state powers never surfaced in this or other discussions while I was at Milton. Exploring how SIGINT could be abused or exploited remained outside of the field of inquiry at the school. Even though I wanted to question the tactics so lauded by Mr. Vitale and others, I felt this would be taboo or even treasonous and thus refrained from raising any concerns.

After moving through the threats posed by the bad guys and how the NSA worked to defend the nation, Mr. Vitale ended his presentation by returning to the "real and growing" threat the United States confronted daily:

> There's this threat we call the cyberthreat. And the message we want to tell you is the fact that it's real. It's growing. It's bigger than the NSA. It's actually bigger than the U-S-A. So we have to work very closely with a lot of different folks—we call them the cyberteam—and that cyberteam consists of our government, academia—you all—industry, who makes all the technologies, and our allies. We work very closely with our allies. So the threat is real and growing and it's bigger than any of us can imagine.

The message Mr. Vitale delivered to students was indeed one about the "real and growing" cyberthreat. Intensifying excitement and anxiety, Mr. Vitale stressed how the threat is "bigger than any of us can imagine."

To drive home this point to an auditorium of young people with pockets and backpacks filled with smartphones, tablets, laptops, and networked gaming consoles, Mr. Vitale forcefully reminded students that their electronic devices were like U.S. highways: they all connected to each other. Every risk not only threatened their own security but also

the security of the nation. All devices posed imminent and potentially apocalyptic threats to the United States, especially if students failed to take precautions to protect this networked highway:

> MR. VITALE: Visualize our highways, roads, and streets. Now let me ask you a question: does anyone know how many highways, roads, and streets there are in just the United States?
> STUDENT: A lot!
> MR. VITALE: A lot. That's a darned good answer. I'm gonna tell you exactly how many there are and you tell me why I say this number.

Mr. Vitale then held up one finger, evoking an immediate reaction from students: quickly, a chorus of ohs and ahs and eager yet frantic chatter filled the school auditorium.

> MR. VITALE: Why?
> STUDENTS, *in unison*: They're all connected.
> MR. VITALE: You can't tell me where one road ends and the other one begins. And I bet you that the road in front of my house is connected to the road in front of your house and I don't even know where you all live, but I bet I can drive there! 'Cause they're connected. Networks are like that. So you have these different domain names: dot-gov, dot-mil, dot-com, dot-org, dot-edu, dot-whatever. But guess what? All the networks are *connected.*

This connectivity meant that students needed to proactively secure their own systems. In Mr. Vitale's estimation, the networked nature of electronics meant that students' own devices could serve as "a hopping point for a bad guy!" If, however, students vigilantly secured their systems, they would "prevent that from happening." "Good guys and bad guys," after all, "live on the same network." In this mapping of national security, students came to imagine themselves as a part of, and responsible for, this networked cyberspace that posed a threat to the United States.

Throughout his ninety-minute talk, Mr. Vitale linked national vulnerability to personal responsibility. Vulnerability—to be attacked easily—served as Mr. Vitale's organizing theme used to cultivate a sense of responsibility in Milton students: pressing national security threats

required that students perform daily security routines, like securing their electronic devices to protect the nation from a terrorist attack. In fact, according to my conservative count recorded in my field notes, Mr. Vitale used the word "vulnerable" (and derivations of it) thirty-three times, "threat" forty-two times, and the "bad guys" or "hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states" fifty-six times. This meant that he referred to threat, vulnerability, or the bad guys more than once a minute. Similarly, Mr. Vitale talked about "protect/ion" forty-three times—almost once every two minutes. The emphasis on national security vulnerabilities structured students' sense of responsibility to take individual and collective actions to secure their own devices as a means to help protect the nation. These security risks compelled the United States to deploy militarized "countermeasures" to "defend against the bad guys."

Even though Mr. Vitale defined terrorism as an unpredictable and illegitimate form of violence, he also suggested that the United States could manage this "problem" through various speculative "countermeasures" by employing his risk formula. Yet, as Mr. Vitale sketched these cyberthreats and how the NSA responded to these national security risks, he never examined the motivations, agendas, or histories of "those bad guys" who carried out terrorist attacks. Instead, Mr. Vitale deployed an interpretive framework that situated terrorism as apolitical acts of violence aimed at the United States. No underlying social grievances or political agenda drove the "bad guys" to attack the United States. As such, Mr. Vitale's risk formula need not account for or redress any social, political, or economic drivers of terrorism. Mr. Vitale simply sought to assemble the "appropriate countermeasures" to foil the efforts of the "hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states."

Learning to Manage Terrorism

With the onset of the global war on terror, the United States recast Cold War economies of fear built on the minute-to-minute threat of nuclear destruction. This process widened the scope of national security concerns to include "hugely diverse kinds of threats" from computer hacking to nuclear bombs to biological weapons, all perceived "equally imminent, equally catastrophic."[17] Guided by these vast concerns, Milton students learned about agroterrorism, biological and chemical weap-

ons, online identity theft, nuclear meltdowns, and school safety (to name just a few). By investigating these diverse threats in the Homeland Security program, students came to imagine the systems and infrastructures they used daily—agriculture, electricity, transportation, the Internet, nuclear power—as vulnerable to a terrorist attack intending to harm the U.S. economy and kill citizens. As they studied these threats, Homeland Security students learned how to identify, respond to, and manage terrorism according to industry norms and procedures.

Eleventh grader Tyrell, for instance, knowledgably explained the threat of agroterrorism to me:

> TYRELL: I never really thought about it before, but once we started talking about it, it's true our crops and everything and food and all that stuff are some of the most vulnerable things to attack.
>
> NICOLE: So what is agroterrorism?
>
> TYRELL: Agroterrorism: it's basically when you just try to take out the food or poison it or something to damage the economy or something like that. So, they would've damaged a whole bunch of crops and that would be a whole bunch of money gone because we make trades off our crops. We sell them in states and out of states as our food source. And if they were to put something in there to get a whole bunch of people sick, the crops, they go everywhere and some all over the states, some all over the world, so people here would be getting sick. People there would be getting sick and they wouldn't know where it came from so that would be a big problem.

In this exchange, Tyrell articulated how U.S. crops were vulnerable to attack. He also deftly explained how U.S. agriculture could be "damaged," detailing the devastating effects such an attack would have on both the economy and people. In his definition of agroterrorism, Tyrell focused primarily on the act and its harm to U.S. citizens, ignoring any political agenda that might drive agroterrorism.

As Tyrell and Mr. Vitale illustrated, Milton's Homeland Security program emphasized U.S. vulnerabilities and the countermeasures used to protect the nation. This focus marginalized the study of terrorism from the perspectives of those deemed "terrorist." The school privileged exploring terrorism through the viewpoint of national security experts, even though the objectives for Homeland Security 1 included

the investigation of the "social, political, economic, and religious motives found in terrorist ideologies." The examination of terrorist threats and emergency management procedures overshadowed this objective. Tyrell, for example, answered Ms. Perez's question of the day "Besides death, why would terrorists attack U.S. agriculture?" by explaining how the movement of contaminated foods across state lines would hurt the U.S. economy and "get a whole bunch of people sick." Yet Tyrell never queried why terrorists would carry out such an attack and what terrorists sought to gain, politically, from this violence.

By studying terrorism in this way, eleventh grader Jacob came to define a terrorist as "anybody who tries to hurt a huge group of people." As he continued to talk about who counted as a "professional terrorist," Jacob focused on acts of violence committed against the United States: "professional terrorists" targeted "historical monuments" populated by U.S. citizens without purpose and without political motivation. In his description of "professional terrorists" who harmed Americans, Jacob never explained why terrorists committed acts of violence and never detailed the economic, social, or political drivers of terrorism. Instead, he affirmed President Bush's definition of terrorists as "evildoers," a definition that need not explore the political purposes of terrorism.

While terrorism, as it was understood at Milton, denoted an unpredictable and apolitical act of violence against the United States, students simultaneously learned that terrorism could be managed by learning the procedures necessary to "defend against those bad guys." Eleventh grader Jamal, for example, described an emergency management lesson where students considered how different agencies might respond if there were a nuclear attack in a nearby town. The lesson showed students how an entire town could be vulnerable to a nuclear attack and how agencies might deploy response, mitigation, and recovery practices. As he discussed this lesson with me, Jamal casually talked through the possibility of a nuclear attack:

> There was something about the town of Buckley. If a nuclear bomb were to go off, what would the government do? They'd be like, "Okay, how can we fix this and what's next and how can we prevent this from happening?" Or what the FBI would have to look at. What the CIA would look at. What NSA would look at. How they would work together. And certain stuff like that.

Like other students, Jamal effortlessly discussed how different federal, state, and local agencies worked together to protect and defend the nation. Approaching the situation like a technicist, Jamal then considered the emergency management procedures various agencies would undertake to secure Buckley after a nuclear attack. Without investigating the reason for the nuclear attack, Jamal detailed how the different responding agencies "would work together," believing that survival after a nuclear attack was possible and that the U.S. government would quickly organize its forces. Jamal articulated to me a plan of action he saw as both viable and important to know, mimicking Cold War faith that "civil defense was worth the effort," as "Americans had to trust that it was possible to survive a nuclear war and that life would be worth living in a ravaged land," while ignoring the reality that the United States "could not protect them."[18] Milton reaffirmed this historical image of post–nuclear attack survival without examining the possible political motivations or goals of these catastrophic attacks.

Many students mentioned that terrorists also targeted U.S. airports. Students learned about the threats and militarized countermeasures used to reduce risk on a field trip to a nearby international airport. Tenth graders Aliyah, Jazlin, and Na'Jae explained that terrorists could trigger homemade bombs in airports or on planes. As such, TSA implemented security measures to thwart these attacks. Aliyah, Jazlin, and Na'Jae detailed how TSA scanned luggage and people for traces of the substances used to build bombs:

> ALIYAH: If you touch something that's radioactive that has the materials of the bomb and you touch something else, it'll be, even like the smallest little particle of it will like make it go off and stuff like that.
>
> NICOLE: So you could just like wipe your hand on something?
>
> JAZLIN: It won't come off.
>
> NA'JAE: It'll still be there.
>
> ALIYAH: It won't come off at all. For a long time.
>
> JAZLIN: They said two weeks.
>
> NA'JAE: Even if you wash it . . . they find traces of it 'cause sometimes it gets on your shoes and that's how they track it through the airport for them to find, actually use air and stuff to see where it is.

In this exchange, the girls posited that bombs posed a threat to airport security and so the United States imposed measures enacted by TSA agents to mitigate this threat. This was possible, the girls told me, because the residue of the chemicals used to make bombs could remain on the bomb maker's skin for up to two weeks. Here Milton students showed that they knew, intimately, about the security procedures taken at the airport. For Aliyah, Jazlin, and Na'Jae, these measures used to combat terrorism "made sense," and as such, the girls willingly submitted to them and sought to enact them in their future careers as TSA agents, police officers, or other national security workers.

These brief snippets also reveal how the Homeland Security program provocatively engaged and stimulated students who eagerly shared with me what they learned about the national security industry. In our conversations, students all talked enthusiastically and knowledgably about national security threats. They showed off what they knew about the security industry, often finding my nonexpert questions funny. Students quickly and easily talked about federal and private security agencies according to their acronyms (called the "alphabet soup guys"). While I often scrambled to keep up with the abbreviations of these organizations, students used them quite freely, indicating their familiarity with these organizations and the vocabularies used within the industry. For students, their free and easy use of acronyms communicated their insider knowledge of the security industry and showed how normalized they had become to this way of talking.

Through the Homeland Security program, Milton students learned about the innumerable threats the United States faced without ever exploring the root causes of terrorism. In doing so, students also studied how the nation managed these terrorist threats by applying Mr. Vitale's risk formula to assemble the "appropriate countermeasures." Despite the rhetoric that situates terrorism as an unpredictable problem, calculating terrorism has, historically, worked to "rationalize responses to particular types of events, and guide these responses by police, emergency responders, and negotiators."[19] As such, Mr. Vitale taught students that "it's impossible" to "do the math" to quantify terrorist threats, while insisting that his "risk formula" could determine the "appropriate countermeasure" to "reduce your risk." Quantifying unquantifiable risks through Mr. Vitale's risk formula, tenth grader Isse declared, worked to "prevent terrorism" and to "make things better" and "safer."

Although Milton school staff portrayed terrorism as an unpredictable problem to be feared, they also taught students that terrorism could be managed through seemingly rational responses, often inflected with military values. As such, students like Isse, Na'Jae, Jazlin, and Aliyah carefully studied emergency management procedures.

At Milton, the daily operations and everyday procedures used to manage the problem of terrorism went unquestioned. Milton instilled such a palpable sense of vulnerability *and* what Milton students perceived as calculated "countermeasures" that the efficacy of these national security tactics need not be publicly debated. As Mr. Vitale eerily effused, "we're doing what we can, but the number of bad guys is double every year and there are always bad guys getting through like 9/11." Haunted by the September 11 attacks, the idea of "homeland security" operated at Milton as "what some have referred to as a 'God-word'— something universally embraced, and insufficiently questioned—at least among supporters of the status quo."[20] Political geographer Nancy Hiemstra, meanwhile, rebukes that in the current geopolitical context, "the invocation of security provides policies with an air of untouchability."[21] Given this air of untouchability, students never questioned these countermeasures nor explored alternative solutions aimed at addressing the root causes of terrorism.

Militarized Masculinity: The Glory of Guns and Girls

Given the impossibility of total security, Milton taught students about the militarized measures the United States deployed to mitigate national security threats. Through the study, and eventual practice, of these security routines, students learned to privilege military solutions to issues of national security, adopt a warlike mentality, value aggression over diplomacy, glorify war and war heroes, and valorize militarized masculinities. Given these soldierly cadences venerated at the school, students sought to display their knowledge of weapons, guns, and military lingo to gain status in the classroom.

One of my first experiences in learning about and celebrating these militarized yet measured tools of national defense came when I heard Tom Steiner of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) speak to students. Mr. Steiner organized his talk around the threats U.S. nuclear power plants faced and the tools, practices, and legal instruments the

NRC deployed to protect these sites. This presentation did not focus on the science and chemistry used to regulate these nuclear facilities, even though this was Mr. Steiner's specialty. Rather, Mr. Steiner briefly outlined the legal codes governing the NRC before moving to an in-depth discussion of weapons and guns.

To open his presentation, Mr. Steiner first cited the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), the institutionalized set of rules regulating how the NRC protects U.S. nuclear facilities. Mr. Steiner even brought one of the CFR books with him to show Milton students. A thick publication, Mr. Steiner enthusiastically noted that this was just one volume of the CFR. The entire four-volume compilation stretched a couple of feet across his bookcase. These rules, Mr. Steiner told students, govern how the United States punishes terrorists who attack nuclear facilities. As Mr. Steiner detailed, "we *have* to have the rules. Before you can be awful to someone, you have to have laws they break. That's the *beautiful* part of this country." Here Mr. Steiner outlined the U.S. legal system that regulated when and how it could "be awful to someone" accused of terrorism. He showed such deference to U.S. law that he found it necessary to bring a copy of the CFR with him to use as a prop.

In revering U.S. law, Mr. Steiner never elaborated what "being awful to someone" entailed, leaving these details up to students' imaginations. While I cannot account for student interpretations of "being awful to someone," Mr. Steiner's discussion funneled my own thinking toward indefinite detention, extraordinary rendition, and torture, practices routinely used against those marked as enemy combatants. According to Mr. Steiner, the CFR limited these forms of "be[ing] awful to someone" to those who broke laws.[22]

Such (ironic) celebration of U.S. legal exceptionality[23] surfaced often during my time at Milton. The chief of staff of a member of the Gang of Eight—the eight members of Congress briefed by the executive branch on intelligence matters—similarly noted, "There are lots of rules to govern how cybersurveillance can happen in the U.S." This guest speaker implied that the United States abided by these mandates. She later told students, "Some people have asked why we don't torture the [Boston] bomber. We don't," she offered, "because there are rules. We want to set a good example for other countries." Such bold assertions belie the December 2015 Senate Intelligence Committee report that detailed the torture tactics inflicted by the United States outside of the rule of law.[24]

Despite such deference to U.S. law, an FBI cybersecurity special agent briefly exposed the strategic mis/uses of U.S. law by the government in an MHSNE meeting, a sentiment never explicitly expressed to students:

> There's a lot of internal wrangling and politics, partially because there's no rulebook for cyber. There are no rules of law to force companies to give you intrusion information, and there's no rules for how different agencies should respond and react to intrusions and how to work together. There's consent, and not consent, and then *the use of national security laws to do what you want to do.* (emphasis added)

Here the FBI special agent explicitly stated that the United States could, and, more importantly, did, manipulate national security laws to "do what you want to do." Political geographer Derek Gregory confirms that the law often authorizes violent national security practices. Indefinite detention and torture in places like Guantánamo Bay, for example, are enabled not only through the suspension of law but precisely through juridical statutes that render these practices *legal*.[25] As law was catching up to new global war on terror tactics, guest speakers at Milton indicated that the national security industry, including federal agencies, both innovatively applied the law and operated outside of it to accomplish its agenda. Regardless of these confirmed creative ab/uses of the law by federal agencies, Mr. Steiner chose to emphasize to Milton students that the NRC abided by the CFR, which seemingly protected against such abuses of power.

Though students politely listened to Mr. Steiner during this lengthy exposé on these laws, I observed them slouching in their chairs and putting their heads on their desks, indicating their gradual disengagement. Yet students immediately perked up—energetically asking questions and participating in discussions—upon Mr. Steiner's segue into the matrix of weapons, fences, and fortified barriers used to defend against "outside threats."[26] In this part of his presentation, Mr. Steiner valorized weaponry knowledge, and students were all too eager to share how much they knew about guns.

Mr. Steiner, for example, displayed an illustration of a hypothetical nuclear power plant as a way to map the different security devices deployed by the NRC. Cycling up with excitement, Mr. Steiner quickly announced and depicted each weapons system. He described to students

the Common Remotely Operated Weapon System (CROWS) and its utility in protecting nuclear power plants:

> CROWS is really cool! It's like a video game! You're not even there and it's a weapon you can operate without being there! You can know this is definitely a bad guy. You can zoom in right on him! You can *wing him* if you want! I guess you could call it a *force multiplier*! (emphasis original)

In the same breath, he continued, "Then there's MILES: Multiple Intelligence Laser Enhancement System! And then there's enhanced exercise realization post-9/11!" Through quick definitions and briefly displayed pictures, Mr. Steiner moved through a number of different weapons systems. Jotting down notes about each, I struggled to keep up with his fast-paced presentation: I understood CROWS as drone guns, but I couldn't quite remember what MILES was. I digested about a quarter of what Mr. Steiner ardently explained. I superficially understood that there were a number of different weapons, guns, and barriers the NRC used for protection. Students, conversely, caught on quickly, having more foundational knowledge about guns and weapons than I. They shouted out weapons they knew and tried to figure out the ones they didn't. A student even asked Mr. Steiner to return to an earlier PowerPoint slide so he could accurately identify a weapons system.

After outlining a series of other physical weapons systems and security devices protecting nuclear facilities, Mr. Steiner then talked about design basis threat (DBT) with students. A tool used in conjunction with these physical security measures, DBT evaluates threats by determining the "type, composition, and capabilities of an adversary."[27] According to Mr. Steiner, DBT prevents the use of excessive force or unnecessary countermeasures through a rational, objective assessment of risk:

> MR. STEINER: Design basis threat. D-B-T. What is the most likely attack to happen? If some bad guy with a backpack crosses over to the power plant and you shoot him in the head square on with an AR-15 because of what he has in his backpack, is that the right response?

STUDENTS: No!

MR. STEINER: Good! Because what if it turns out that there's just spray paint in his book bag? So you assess the threat.

DBT, students learned, predicted "the most likely attack to happen" and ascertained the "capabilities of an adversary." Like Mr. Vitale's risk formula, the information gathered through DBT assisted national security workers in assembling an "appropriate response" to the threat.

With this security landscape and pertinent vocabularies mapped, Mr. Steiner detailed how the NRC "prepared for an attack":

MR. STEINER: There's physical security: barriers, access control, guard force. There's also personnel security like background checks, fitness for duty, and access authorization. What if you hire a janitor and he turns out to be a terrorist?

STUDENT: You're screwed!

MR. STEINER: Right! That's why you need background checks. Then there's detention and assessment systems, alarm stations, response strategies. These make up the robust strategies with redundant safety systems. Have you heard of PTZs? They're cameras that pan, tilt, and zoom in on targets.

MS. PEREZ: We need some of those!

MR. STEINER: What about BREs? Marines love BREs. That stands for "bullet-resistant enclosure."

STUDENT: I know what you're talking about.

STUDENT: What kinds of guns do they have? AR-15s?

MR. STEINER: AR-15s? Yes. They have some special shotguns. But we have to work with other people: local communities, states, local law enforcement. They have a lot of different rules for guns. So the military is great. It's *exemplar*: they can have tanks or whatever. But the NRC is civilian. This year, though, they're passing regulations for having its civilian force to carry heavy-duty weapons.[28]

STUDENT: Have you ever shot a gun?

STUDENT: Have you ever killed a man?

STUDENT: Don't ask stupid questions!

MR. STEINER: I was in the Navy. Nuclear submarines. With pistols, glocks, old .45s. I'm pretty good. I held a bazooka once.

In this exchange, Mr. Steiner suggested that DBT ensured the NRC deployed the best, and most appropriate, defense systems. According to Mr. Steiner, DBT also prevented the excessive use of force. In doing so, Mr. Steiner centered the importance of military-grade armaments, including BREs, PTZs, CROWS, MILES, and AR-15s, in protecting nuclear power plants. He even lamented the NRC's status as a civilian entity that prevented its workforce from carrying "heavy-duty weapons." Military hardware, in other words, served as the ultimate protection from terrorists.

Students, in return, enthusiastically highlighted for Mr. Steiner their extensive knowledge of and interest in weapons. They even regulated each other as to what kind of talk about weapons was permissible: for one student, asking if Mr. Steiner "ever killed a man" was a discussion that was off limits. As such, he quickly reprimanded his peer for asking such a "stupid question" oriented toward the corporeal consequences of these weapons. Other students identified the weapons in Mr. Steiner's PowerPoint and asked questions about how the NRC defended against cyberattacks.

Having fully delighted students with his discussion on guns, Mr. Steiner ended his presentation by encouraging students to think about "going into intelligence" and the vast array of national security jobs available to students:

> We need guys to figure out the strategies, bombs, materials, what kind of person, how they do this, about these bad guys. There are local jobs because they have to have guards, other people to keep things safe. People who write protocols and procedures. People who have to be a response force. People who have to operate them. We have four more plants that are safer than the older ones. Construction people to help build them.

Seeking to translate their energy into future careers, students eagerly asked follow-up questions about what they needed to do to secure such positions in the industry.

Mr. Steiner's presentation was fast and frenzied, exciting students once he began speaking about guns, weapons, and physical security systems. Like Mr. Vitale (NSA), Mr. Steiner followed the familiar threat–vulnerability–response conceptual progression that helped students

understand these complex issues. Doing so motivated young people to seek opportunities to help secure the United States.

During this eighty-minute hypermilitarized class period, I furiously scribbled notes on the acronyms and different military hardware (BREs, CROWS, Desert Eagles, AR-15s, M-16s, .45s) that I wanted to Google. Yet students easily identified the weapons systems in the pictures in Mr. Steiner's PowerPoint presentation. They boasted to Mr. Steiner what they knew about military-grade weapons, and this knowledge served as a kind of currency in the class as students jockeyed to show who knew the most about weapons. Students bubbled with excitement at the discussion of these weapons to the point that Mr. Steiner altered his presentation for the next class. He announced to the next group of students that "last class, some eyes glazed over, so I'm going to talk about some more interesting things, like guns." In response to student enthusiasm, Mr. Steiner refocused his second presentation on weapons, opting to cut out his longer discussion of the CFR. Invited in, warlike values, which make military-grade weapons so enticing, infiltrated Milton's classrooms.

Although weapons organized Mr. Steiner's two talks, he never discussed with students the repercussions of "shoot[ing] an intruder in the head square on with an AR-15 because of what he has in his backpack." Instead, Mr. Steiner focused on a sanitized approach to these militarized measures and never explored what it might mean, politically or ethically, to shoot and kill someone even as, *that day,* Milton mobilized law enforcement and military police to respond to rampant rumors over social media about an impending school shooting.[29] These militarized security measures and the currency of weaponry knowledge fed a glamorized militarism at Milton, exciting students to want to know more, perform more gun knowledge in class, and, eventually, enact these militarized tactics in their future national security careers.

These informed yet sanitized discussions of guns and the celebration of gun knowledge occurred several times during my observations of Milton's Homeland Security classes. Conversations around guns always heightened student engagement. By valuing military-grade hardware, students came to imagine weapons systems as the ultimate tools of national security, school safety included.

In another class that same week, students discussed ways they could make Milton safe/r. One student offered that the school should arm

teachers and administrators with guns. When Ms. Perez explained that she owned a .22-caliber gun with a scope, a student chided her, exclaiming, "That's a grandma gun!" Students erupted with laughter and continued to joke about Ms. Perez's gun throughout the class period. Their laughter indicated that students did not value just any gun: they glorified military weapons, while rejecting guns typically used by civilians.

After this brief interruption, students positioned themselves as national security experts who "know school safety best." As such, they clamored to suggest ways they could fortify their school in response to the threats they faced. These recommendations included installing more security cameras, increasing the number of armed police officers patrolling the school, arming school staff with guns, locking school doors, deploying local military police to the school, covering the windows on classroom doors, and better regulating school visitors. Alternative, demilitarized approaches to school security like addressing social inequalities in young people's communities or improving the quality of, and access to, mental health services, never surfaced. Instead, students focused on amplifying the physical fortification of their school by arming school adults and regulating who entered the building.

On another day a few months later, Homeland Security students discussed a recent news story I had e-mailed to Ms. Perez: a handful of U.S. public schools purchased bulletproof whiteboards and bulletproof school uniforms as a "last line of defense" against school shooters. I sent the story to Ms. Perez as a way to spark a critical conversation around this reactionary rather than preventative approach to school safety. I anticipated that this extreme example of the lockdown approach to resurgent fears of school shootings would provoke a debate among students. The news story, however, ushered in yet another conversation celebrating guns.

As she presented this news story to her students, Ms. Perez screened video footage of a man shot at close range while wearing one of these bulletproof school uniforms. Instead of recoiling in pain, the man calmly laughed, indicating that the bulletproof school uniform fully protected his body. Skeptical of this response, Ms. Perez questioned the authenticity of this video. She began slowly, saying, "I don't think any of you have seen someone in a bulletproof vest get shot." Several students immediately interrupted Ms. Perez, exclaiming, "Yes, we've seen people get shot. You can go down to the Police Academy and watch people shoot

other people with bulletproof vests on. They don't go down because they only used a glock, not an AK [47] or shotgun. The bullets and force are different." Ms. Perez interjected to explain that a person could survive getting shot by a shotgun because of how shotgun bullets work: "There's little pellets in the front, black powder, wadding, and metal in the back. The metal pushes through and the gun shoots little pellets, which means that you could survive a shotgun shot." Rather than question the efficacy of these bulletproof school uniforms or how this approach to school security affected young people, Ms. Perez directed class conversation toward guns and the impact of different bullets.

This discussion of shooting and getting shot evoked enthusiastic, informed responses from students while obfuscating the violent nature of these actions and the implications of such a weaponized orientation to the world. As in other discussions, students never questioned what it meant that schools turned to these bulletproof whiteboards and how they could work toward mitigating the root causes of school shootings. Instead, Ms. Perez focused on responding to, not preventing, school violence. As students energetically engaged in a discussion about guns and bullets, I realized that I had inadvertently contributed to military talk at Milton. In this moment, and others like it, I questioned my role as an ethnographer observing and actively participating in Ms. Perez's class without disrupting the very discussions and practices that concerned me. These moments reflected my own rapid socialization into this securitized culture.

In addition to the Homeland Security 1 and 2 classes, field trips, and guest speakers, the celebration of guns and militarized approaches to national security also wormed their way into non–Homeland Security classes as teachers implemented their required applications. Mr. Hopkins and mathematics teacher Ms. Simmons, for example, explained that in algebra class, students learned about parabolas through the all-American example of John throwing a football. In rewriting the algebra curriculum with the help of industry partners, Ms. Simmons transformed John into a sniper who needed to calculate the parabolic force to find and shoot his target in North Korea. Proud of this curricular rewrite, Mr. Hopkins told it to me twice in one day!

As these examples illustrate, learning about weapons often served as an explicit part of the Homeland Security program curriculum. In other cases, the inculcation of this weaponry knowledge emerged out

of unplanned class conversations. Regardless, this kind of knowledge about different types of weapons, their impact, and how to use them fostered a culture of violence devoid of talk of consequences, harm, or death. Students (and I) across genders were all too eager to show off what they knew about guns. We came to insist on highly weaponized military solutions to social problems, whether school shootings, crime, or terrorist attacks. Through the celebration of weapons, the school fostered a culture of violence.

Wendy Varney documents that this inculcation of military values through public schools works "in the interest of militarists and those who seek to gain advantage from war." Oriented to military interests, public schools like Milton come to operate as sites that "socialize children into militarism, to make it seem logical, necessary, 'natural' and even fun."[30] At Milton, the Homeland Security program not only intensified student interest in and enthusiasm for guns and war; it also trained students to enact this militarism, and securitism more broadly, through hands-on simulations and textbook studies of these measures.

While the celebration of gun knowledge ushered in a culture of violence at Milton, it was also distinct from acts of actual violence. To be sure, Milton's Homeland Security program was no stranger to either the production of a glorified culture of violence or acts of violence. Students learned about, created, and practiced with weapons systems, security devices, and military hardware, from CROWS to police training guns to biometric devices to canine units.

Mr. Ross's GIS students, for instance, built and launched their own model rockets with the help of two NASA representatives visiting Milton. As students opened their model rocket packets, NASA representatives first required that students decide how they wanted to modify their rockets. Thinking through rocket aerodynamics, some students added weight, while others altered the fins of their rockets. After this design phase, students then assembled their rockets and, a few weeks later, launched them at NASA.

Referring to her own fieldwork in a military charter school that included a similar project, Brooke Johnson offers that building rockets served as a "good introduction to understanding the basic principles of physics and aerodynamics, but what is important is that these basic principles and ideas were explored and presented *within a context of militarism and violence.*"[31] This context transformed the activity into a

"violent act" as students built and launched what they viewed as functioning weapons. Milton's culture of valorized war and "exaltation of weaponry knowledge" helped reinforce rocket building and launching as a military project.[32] Throughout the activity, eleventh grader Chris repeatedly requested materials available off-base. This request communicated to me Chris's awareness of his location on a military base, a context that informed his understanding of this project as a military exercise to build a functioning weapons system.

The glorification and enactment of violence at Milton also occurred in smaller exchanges in classrooms and school hallways. Following is one such exchange, which I documented in my field journal during the same class period:

> As students worked on their rockets, I circled the classroom to meet and talk with students. At one point, I chatted with Scott, a Latino senior wanting to attend the Naval Academy. . . . After showing me his rocket design, Scott mentioned that he was reading *The Picture of Dorian Gray.* I told him I really enjoyed that book, but Scott quickly exasperated that he found it boring. Then he said he just started reading *A Brave New World,* which he, perhaps ironically, really liked. I replied that I, too, thought it was a good book. Upon hearing this, Scott turned to his friend next to him and aggressively effused, "Yeah, do you hear that? It's a good book." As he spoke, he formed the shape of a gun with his fingers and pretended to shoot the student in the head, shouting, "Bang!" Scott's menacing scowl turn to a grin: he and the other student laughed before turning back to building their rockets.

In this uninterrupted violent act, I read Scott as performing a kind of masculinity defined by dominant militaristic values of aggression and violence.[33] For Scott, the proper performance of masculinity relied on deploying these militarized acts laced with heterosexual toughness. This masculinist performance evoked laughter, high fives, and male bravado in the classroom. Even though violent acts similar to Scott's can and do occur at other, nonmilitary and non–national security schools, this example highlights how the pervasive culture of militarism infiltrates everyday life in the United States. Such militarism "feeds into ideologies of masculinity through the eroticization of stoicism, risk-taking, and even lethal violence."[34] The hypermilitarized culture of Milton makes

visible how U.S. hegemonic masculinity—typified by the aggressive and virile war hero—is intimately and inextricably bound up in militarism, a social force at work in schools across the United States. Milton's hetero-patriarchal military culture not only accepted Scott's performance of a militarized masculinity; it also encouraged it.

Given this culture of militarism, Scott—who later referred to Ms. Perez and me as his "mistresses"—was not alone in his performance of his militarized masculinity, a performance that often included discussions of guns and sex:

Rotating to another rocket-building group, I found Chris dismayed by the lack of materials provided by NASA. Frustrated, Chris asked me if I would go "off-base" and buy what he wanted if he gave me a hundred dollars. Trying to be a good sport, I responded that part of the challenge was to use only the materials available. I mentioned Apollo 13 and how part of the genius of that space mission was that they were able to make repairs with just a box of supplies already on hand. In my explanation, I sought to connect their rocket building to space exploration, not weapons, even though space exploration has long advanced military agendas. Chris seemed satisfied with this answer and went back to work. Minutes later, though, Chris asked me again, "If I give you a hundred dollars, will you go out and buy supplies for me?" It was a joke and, like my exchange with Scott, seemed mostly to be some good-hearted hazing while performing masculinity in front of his classmates.

As I walked away to chat with another group, Chris called out to ask me if NASA had an on-site strip club. I turned back and glanced at Chris disapprovingly, never verbally acknowledging or responding to his question. A few minutes later, I overheard Chris boisterously asking one of the women from NASA the same question. I again looked back at him and he smiled, acknowledging his joke was inappropriate, and went back to other male bravado–laden banter with his all male-identified group mates. I did notice that while most students met Chris's comment with supportive laughter, a couple of his classmates expressed disdain for yet another display of his typical antics, indicating that not all students bought into this masculinist performance.

In this encounter, I read Chris as asserting his gender dominance by trying to send me to the store with his own money so he could complete his own rocket-building project. Shopping, after all, was women's work. Jockeying for attention and a laugh from his peers, Chris's strip club joke served as yet another performance of his dominance over me as well as his virile, heterosexual masculinity.

In my time in his classroom, Mr. Ross never disrupted these performances. From my vantage point, Mr. Ross's inaction communicated to Chris that his behavior was acceptable. The laughter our exchange evoked affirmed Chris's own dominance and status. I often heard Mr. Ross crediting students' behavior to the "boys will be boys" adage while dismissing incidents like this or other off-color remarks boys made about girls to assert their dominance while in school.

On another occasion, a group of boys joked in front of Ms. Perez and Mr. Ross about "tapping that," referring to a girl with whom they wanted to have sex. To be sure, the remark intended to objectify the girl and perform virility in front of their peers. First-year teacher Ms. Perez strongly objected to their comments, but Mr. Ross laughed the situation off as "typical" high school boy behavior. Mr. Ross even asked Ms. Perez, "They're seniors, what do you expect?" He then told Ms. Perez it was a good thing she did not have sons because she could not "handle" this "typical" behavior. Mr. Ross then predicted that the more time she spent with high school seniors, the less off-putting she would find these remarks. Ms. Perez should expect, and accept, these comments issued by high school boys, regardless of what such humiliating behavior meant for girls.

Indeed, I observed many other instances in which Milton boys made references to or jokes about having sex with girls. One day, two boys repeatedly asked Ms. Perez in the middle of class if she was "thirsty" (craving sexual attention). Ms. Perez chose to ignore their comments, which only fueled the boys' enthusiasm.

Even Regina Day, a middle-aged top-level NSA employee, told students during her guest talk, "I love men with guns. I mean, there's just something about a man with a gun." For Ms. Day, a man wielding a gun typified ultimate masculinity. By celebrating such militarized, hypersexual, and aggressive performances of masculinity, Milton participated in assembling and reproducing the ideal masculinized soldier. Most Milton boys eagerly and willingly performed such glorified masculinities.

As these examples show, the program encouraged Milton boys—most of whom were Black—to perform hypersexual, virile, and aggressive masculinities. These masculinities map onto dominant, racist tropes of the Black male body as inherently violent and hypersexual, thus requiring constant surveillance and policing.[35] These tropes feed the massive criminalization of young Black men perceived to "constitute a threat 'at home.'"[36] While the police pursue Black men and boys in city streets and schools, thus circuiting Black male bodies into prisons, the military *re*-valorizes these *de*-valorized racialized masculinities, inciting men of color to enlist. The military manages and uses these stereotyped masculinities.

Placing bodies of color in military uniforms transforms their "dangerous" status into "deserving citizens."[37] The military uniform recodes Black masculinity as a powerful and positive force. The U.S. public thus recognizes Black boys as both threats to the social order *and* quintessential military recruits.[38] In this racialized and gendered context, Milton encouraged its Black boys to perform these racialized masculinities, both welcomed by the military and deeply targeted for police surveillance and mass incarceration.

Female-identified students across race also argued for "learning to fight" and "self-defense classes" to protect themselves from possible intruders or school shooters. They, too, displayed their knowledge of guns and weapons alongside their male-identified counterparts. Girls wanted to participate in the same glorified culture of violence alongside the boys and diligently worked to carve out spaces to do so. Milton girls performed masculinity to gain access to the glorified military culture.

Unlike the tightly regulated militarized definition of masculinity, the proper performance of femininity was much more elastic as girls could be read as sporty or military without much heckling or name calling. This elasticity, however, had its limits: I observed queer and gender-queer girls (and boys) receive under-the-breath, snarky insults from students and teachers alike. Even Ms. Perez seemed bewildered by these occasional disruptions of gender norms. In our very last exchange on my last day at Milton, for instance, Ms. Perez unexpectedly exclaimed, "Do you know that student in a hoodie? I think she's a lesbian! I really want to know! Maybe I'll ask her!" The student's perceived deviation from heteronormativity, and thus her Otherness, intrigued Ms. Perez

so much that it interrupted our final good-bye. In addition, boys often called girls who expressed their sexuality "thirsty" or "ratchet." These vocabularies marked these girls as deviant. Girls could embody masculinity as long as they also downplayed their sexuality and performed "respectable" femininity. In doing so, Milton girls managed their participation in the program's masculinist culture.

Political scientist Aaron Belkin warns that the "public adulation" of what he calls military masculinity—the "set of beliefs, practices, and attributes that can drive individuals" across genders to "claim authority on the basis of affirmative relationships with the military or with military ideas"—is premised on a "disavowal of its blemishes."[39] As such, Belkin calls for an undressing of military masculinity's "abject underbelly," including systematic violence, sexual assault, queerphobia, and sexism.

Despite these warnings, daily life in the Homeland Security program taught, enforced, and regulated militarized gender norms. The program did so without addressing the military's and intelligence community's culture of rape, violence against women, exclusion of transgender people, and continued disavowal of queer soldiers, even with the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell, the official U.S. policy that banned openly queer people from serving in the military. Most Milton students consented to and performed these dominant gender norms, although the presence of genderqueer students sometimes disrupted these norms. Guest speakers and teachers rewarded students for these "proper" performances of gender and encouraged deeply militaristic forms of masculinity through "public adulation." Ms. Day's declaration—"I love men with guns"— captures how Milton's Homeland Security program glorified militarized masculinities.

A Field Trip to the State Police Academy: Learning to Save the World

In addition to these classroom discussions and daily interactions in the school, school field trips taught students to perform militarized masculinities. These field trips often celebrated war heroes who protected U.S. citizens and the nation with their lives. Through their participation, students learned to glorify violence and lionize military soldiers and police officers as quintessential men.

On the day following the Boston Marathon bombings, for instance, students attended a field trip to the State Police Academy. Afterward, students articulated to me that they had learned to hold a great deal of respect for the police, whom students viewed as the ultimate protectors. Martrez said,

> Kids these days, they have a sense of, nobody likes authority. They see the police, they're like, "Oh, we hate the police, dah, dah, dah." But, then, they're not actually thinking about what they're doing for you 'cause kids can say they hate the police, but when something goes wrong, the first person they call is the police. . . . When you take the class, you learn, like, I have a respect for people who do it 'cause they're putting their life on the line to save us or like that. They don't even know who we are. We could be like the worst people in the world, but they don't care. It's their job. So it's like, it's like, taking the class, you see what people have to go through and like you see the risks that they're taking so you're like, you have to make that judgment: *are you up to saving the world like that*? Do you want to put your life on the line for other people? That's what I like. I like that. (emphasis original)

Although Martrez suggested that "kids these days" disliked the police, I only heard critiques of the police issued by Homeland Security students on rare occasions. During one class, a guest speaker offered that if students were "accidentally" arrested for a crime, the police "would sort that out at the police station." In response, one student yelled, "Fuck the police! They don't care about us!" Most students, however, ignored this outburst. In fact, I observed the majority of Homeland Security students express deference, if not outright admiration, for the police officers, and military soldiers, who were willing put their lives "on the line for other people" to help "save[] the world."

Isse echoed Martrez's respect for the police, saying, "Basically they would do anything to protect their citizens of their community or, like, anybody." Here students like Isse and Martrez viewed police officers much like soldiers, as war/rior heroes: strong, masculine men willing to risk their lives for others. "The soldier," after all, has become the "model social citizen whose service has long been associated with the virility and strength of the nation."[40] Soldiering thus offers young Black boys, so often criminalized, a pathway toward "deserving" citizenship.[41] Most

boys strove to adopt the behaviors, mannerisms, vocabularies, and personalities of these seemingly heroic, strong, and aggressive police officer-warriors who helped save and protect lives, reinforcing protectionist patriarchal tropes. In doing so, Milton ignored how the police, as a social institution, disproportionately targets Brown and Black bodies for surveillance, monitoring, and punishment.

At the State Police Academy, Milton students learned how to become such war/rior heroes through a series of different police training simulations that celebrated such militarized masculinities. Upon arrival at the State Police Academy, police trainer Bob Hastings first asked Milton students why they had chosen to participate in the Homeland Security program. Some responses from students included "to protect the nation," "to save lives," and "to help people."[42] Protecting the nation was the most prominent response. Although students like Trevor articulated to me in private interviews that they wanted to become police officers for the "badge and gun" or "to Tase people," they understood that socially acceptable responses included helping others or protecting the nation. The "badge and gun," after all, helped students achieve dignity and respect in a deeply racialized and classed society that feared their bodies. Yet, at the State Police Academy, students showed that they had learned how to talk about their interests in ways considered acceptable to, and respected by, adults.

Students only talked about their policing interests in more provocative ways after becoming partial insiders to the "police world." Mr. Hopkins, for instance, asked later in the day if Mr. Hastings "ever found recruits who became cops for the wrong reasons like wanting to have a gun." Here I read Mr. Hopkins as wanting to communicate to students that policing was *not* about guns. Yet, standing in a floor-to-ceiling padded "fight room" where police recruits street fight, Mr. Hastings laughed. He quickly mocked people who expressed that they wanted to be cops to "help people." Mr. Hastings explained that "*all* cops do all of this for the badge and the gun." Looking back at Mr. Hopkins as he laughed, Mr. Hastings then quickly returned to the acceptable narrative of police wanting to help people, saying he would "never graduate a recruit" whom he felt could not "protect his brothers and sisters on the street."

After discussing their motivations for joining the Homeland Security program, Mr. Hastings introduced students to their first activity, a

tabletop exercise. Tabletops are miniature but extraordinarily detailed versions of communities. Led by a training facilitator like Mr. Hastings, tabletop exercises promote collaborative discussion among participants about their roles in responding to emergencies. To do so, participants respond to staged emergency scenarios to learn emergency management procedures. Similar to vocabularies like *adversary* and *response, mitigation, and recovery, tabletops* represented insider knowledge of the field. I detail this simulation at the academy to show how these types of activities reinforced particular performances of hegemonic masculinity and routinized student responses to perceived threats.

First, Ms. Hastings assigned students different roles for this "simulated model of action in response training." These roles included several patrol police officers, a fire chief, emergency medical services personnel, and a resource officer. Jokingly, Mr. Hastings assigned one of four girls the role of a police supervisor. Instead of responding to emergency calls, Mr. Hastings declared that this student was preoccupied with "flirting with her waiter at Denny's." "She has a cute waiter," Mr. Hastings continued, "and won't be leaving any time soon." Mr. Hastings designated another girl the role of "an off-duty police officer out drinking." Mr. Hastings told students that "she will have to decide later if she is 'fit' to respond to the calls." These two roles sidelined the girls from actively participating in this simulation.

As Mr. Hastings continued with this simulation frequently used at the State Police Academy, I recognized that these prescribed roles seemed written for male recruits; drinking and cavorting can be read as masculinized performances that highlight male bravado and virility. They represented typical nighttime activities in which police recruits might participate. Recruits, subsequently, needed to learn how to responsibly negotiate their police duties and their personal lives. Yet, when the girls assumed these roles, the boys laughed and teased them. The boys' taunts of girls through a brief chorus of ohs and ahs seemed to indicate that the girls' roles reflected "bad" or lazy and irresponsible police officers. Whereas boys often laughed at and encouraged each other's sexualized jokes, girls' participation in this masculinist culture briefly elicited a negative reaction from their male-identified peers.

After assigning these roles, Mr. Hastings then explained that students would respond to three routine emergency calls according to their designated roles. After reading the first scenario about a "suspi-

cious package" at a local elementary school, Mr. Hastings provided no
other instructions to students. Not expecting students to know how to
respond like police officers without more coaching, I watched as stu-
dents determined the fastest route to a scene, correctly dubbed the first
police officer on scene as incident commander, and made other deci-
sions that showed they had come to the table with a healthy reservoir
of police knowledge. Students learned emergency response procedures
in their Homeland Security classes, by watching police TV shows, and
even by participating in police ride-alongs.[43]

At one point, one eager student playing the role of a beat cop arrived
on scene and "radioed dispatch" to update his location. As the student
radioed dispatch, Mr. Hastings explained that this "triggered a radio-
sensitive bomb" planted in the school, which killed all of the students.
Although some Milton students gasped in shock, many giggled at this
development. Mr. Hastings used this incident to emphasize to students
that while they might respond to a specific threat, they needed to re-
main acutely alert to other attacks that might occur. More pressingly,
given the Boston bombings inflicted the previous day,[44] Mr. Hastings
reminded students that radio systems could inadvertently, or deliber-
ately, set off bombs. Students, instead, should rely on landline phones
to communicate with law enforcement, collaborate with school admin-
istrators to evacuate populations, and work with the media to relay
proper, but limited, information to the general public.

After this bombing, students regrouped and developed a new plan
of action: they evacuated the schoolchildren to the baseball field using
landline phones. Yet, when the schoolchildren arrived at the field, Mr.
Hastings grinned, almost devilishly. A secondary improvised explosive
device (IED) hidden under home plate exploded, once again killing all
of the evacuees. No one survived. Rather than directing their attention
to the deaths and violence inflicted by this IED, Mr. Hastings instructed
that to avoid such catastrophes, students needed to follow emergency
response protocols meticulously. Through this rehearsal of apocalyp-
tic destruction, students learned to approach emergency response fol-
lowing textbook procedures. As laughter pierced the air as the second-
ary IED exploded, I realized that emergency management procedures,
laced with male bravado, trumped the lives of those killed.

Like soldiers who enhance their ocular senses to identify "churches
as locations for machine gun positions" and "gates as sites for booby

FIGURE 9. *A student in camouflage pants played the role of a fire chief and responded to a bomb threat as police trainer Bob Hastings (right) observed.*

traps," Milton students also learned to assess their surroundings in terms of their "potentiality for protection or peril" like an open baseball field.[45] The "suspicious" package served as a visual register of danger that students needed to identify in this simulation. When the IED ex-

ploded, students also needed to interpret the terrain for sites of danger and safety.

As the girls quietly observed the boys responding to these IEDs, male bravado filled the air throughout the activity. The boys jockeyed for status by making off-color jokes, speeding with their miniature cars, and showing insider knowledge of policing. Being good sports, the girls looked on from the sidelines. Yet they also sought to contribute to this masculinized culture and promptly thought of ways to participate. One girl offered the boys suggestions about how to respond, while the other "paid the check" at Denny's fifteen minutes into the simulation. Although the girls found creative ways to include themselves, their only invited participation came when Mr. Hastings later chose one girl to lead the only activity that focused specifically on communication and cooperation, once again a deeply gendered venture.

After responding to two other calls, students then participated in an activity in a "practical house" that trained their somatic, or bodily, responses to perceived threats. A practical house is a place where police recruits run through simulations in a real house built or acquired by the academy. To prepare for this home invasion simulation, Mr. Hastings armed Ms. Perez, Mr. Bristol,[46] and me with Blueguns, blue-tinted police training guns. As suspects in the simulation, we hid in the house with our guns: Ms. Perez in the bathroom closet, Mr. Bristol behind the living room couch, and me curled up inside a cardboard box on the top shelf of a closet pantry ten feet above the ground. Teams of students responded to a potential house intruder call and "swept" the house looking for us, the suspects. Once again, we see how police jargon infiltrated our vocabularies.

Students selected their own teams of three or four. Though Mr. Hastings doubted that the Milton girls wanted to participate, the girls insisted on their inclusion in this activity. They did participate, but only through forming their own all-girl team and by participating last, after much of the excitement and seriousness of the activity had died down. Mr. Hastings called the girls "Charlie's Angels," a reference to the scantily clad private detectives on the television crime drama filled with sexual innuendo by the same name. The name "Charlie's Angels" reduced the girls to their bodies and refused to take their contributions to the simulation seriously.[47]

Eager to participate in this simulation, each team of students kicked

open the front door to gain access to the house. Students swiftly moved through the practical house armed with their own guns. I heard students yell, "Clear!" as they checked each room for suspects. Holding my own breath in the hope of going undetected, I watched students' shadows move through the pantry and out into the kitchen. Occasionally, I peeked out of my box to observe as students kept their guns in the firing-ready position, fingers cinched to the trigger. Although this was a home invasion simulation, the sight of any movement in the house triggered students' guns. Relying on their acoustic and ocular senses, students immediately shot in the direction of detected suspects, forgoing any attempts to identify and apprehend them. In fact, when students discovered Ms. Perez, she immediately jumped out of her hiding spot and yelled, "Pow! Pow! Pow!" to indicate that she was shooting her students. Her students enthusiastically shot back.

In each team's sweep of the house, students failed to find and kill me. As such, Mr. Hastings always instructed students to search the house a second time, gravely explaining that they had failed their mission. Such failure, Mr. Hastings asserted, resulted in the rape of a homeowner, a devastating consequence used to scare students into more diligently searching the house.

When students finally found me, I popped out of my box and shot students with my gun. Once, I successfully scared and "killed" a group of boys who leaped and shrieked in fear. Shaking his head in disappointment, Mr. Hastings told me that the State Police Academy tries to "beat this startle factor out of recruits" so they can "properly" respond to emergencies. Mr. Hastings viewed this somatic response to a perceived threat as improper. As such, he, and national security agencies more generally, seek to regulate these bodily responses. As a rehearsal of bodily movements, this, and other, exercises in the Homeland Security program inculcated the embodied habits of national security agents, cultivating a strategic corporal engagement with the social world reflective of the needs and impulses of the national security agenda. Guided by these somatic pedagogies, students diligently sought to control their bodies and enhance their senses, as required for national security careers.[48]

In this simulation, I, too, actively shot Milton students, enacting the very violence I critique throughout this book. My heart raced in anticipation, excitement, and fear. Working to control my breathing, steady

my gun, and track student movements using my auditory senses, I also sought to enhance my somatic responses to national security threats. Caught up in the moment, I both panicked at my participation in the activity and *enjoyed* my experience hiding from and eventually shooting students. Events like these forced me to reflect on why I felt excited and how I ignored my own acts of violence in the Homeland Security program. My reflections on my own actions, and pleasure throughout my time at the school, primed me for a more complex reading of teachers' decisions and actions within the Homeland Security program.

Students ended their day at the academy by competing in the official police obstacle course. For police recruits to graduate, they must complete the course in under three minutes, a target many Milton students wanted to meet. Throughout the day, Jack Ashcroft, an eleventh grader, boasted that he "guaranteed victory" in the obstacle course. There was much male bravado–laced banter between the boys about who would be the fastest and fittest. Mr. Hopkins, not to be outdone by the boys, insisted that the "old guy" would be competitive too. Mr. Hopkins took the obstacle course so seriously that he arrived at the academy donned, head to toe, in a black Adidas tracksuit! After a day of guns and simulations, the obstacle course served as one last opportunity for the boys to demonstrate their masculinity and for the girls to prove that they belonged in this masculinized culture.

As students assembled at the starting line, I stood at the top of a nearby hill for a bird's-eye view of the course. Below, I saw tires to hop, horizontal wooden beams to jump, a twelve-foot wall to scale and then repel, a tunnel to crawl, suspended tires to snake, monkey bars to navigate, a wooden window frame to "superman" (dive) through, a set of stairs to climb, a six-foot chain link fence to clear, a balance beam to walk, two heavy sets of iron to carry a short distance twice, a sandpit to worm, and short bursts of grassy space to sprint. Despite how daunting the course looked from my vantage point, students eagerly clamored to the starting line.

With Mr. Hastings clutching his stopwatch, students competed for the best time. I watched from my perch on the hill as pairs of students attempted to complete the course in under three minutes. Most of what I documented in my field journal reflects the bodily pain students willingly endured to complete this last mission:

> Most of the boys and two of the girls participated, running in teams of two. Ms. Perez attempted the course in earnest but quickly gave up after encountering the twelve-foot wall. Richard, a Vietnamese student in JROTC, went hard, tearing up his hands and later puking up all of his pizza. He wiped his bloody hands on the grass, trying to clean off the dirt and wood embedded in his torn skin. Jack, who "guaranteed victory," petered out quickly. Another student briefly crumpled with exhaustion midway through the course. An unassuming young white man wearing Vans sneakers performed well, clearing each obstacle without much difficulty. Another boy fell from the twelve-foot wall hard onto his knee but kept running, or hobbling, his way to the end. There were a lot of small injuries and a lot of puking.

I watched, riveted, as students put their bodies on the line in yet another display of militarized masculinity. I laughed as students stumbled. I cheered students on as they struggled or eased through the obstacle course. I congratulated Martrez on his victory. As students gathered, exhausted, near the starting line, I saw student bodies bleed, ooze, ache, vomit, and throb, painful expressions of a mission accomplished.

From building rockets to wielding Blueguns to celebrating weaponry knowledge, Milton's Homeland Security curriculum taught students to value and enact militarized masculinities. Through this valorization of hegemonic masculinities, glamorization of war, emphasis on national security threats, and perceived necessity of militarized responses, Milton fostered a "warlike mentality" through which Milton students came to value aggression and glorify soldiers as quintessential men.[49] Through these militarized simulations, students also learned to appreciate the intensification and expansion of the national security apparatus as a means to protect their home/land and to privilege the use of military operations to resolve conflict and mitigate risk. The program sanitized accounts of violence, glossing over death, grief, and mourning to make war attractive.

Such simulations sought to manage the problem of terrorism by making routine national security responses through hands-on simulations. Establishing "planned, routine responses for various potentialities" of terrorism worked to "tame the frightening and seemingly unpredictable terrorist events" that Mr. Vitale declared to be unquantifiable.[50]

Tenth grader Isse even reframed September 11 as both a "good thing and a bad thing," because "every time something happens, now you have to think about how to prevent it and make things better. We're safer now." Although September 11 "was something big that happened in our country" and a "bad thing 'cause all those people died," Isse articulated that the attacks also helped experts improve their national security strategies. Thus, while Milton students learned that terrorists maintained no political grievances and no rational tactics, they also studied how the problem of terrorism could be assessed through rational calculations (like Mr. Vitale's risk formula) and managed through speculative simulations. Students thus sought to quantify unquantifiable risks and learn the emergency management procedures deployed in response to terrorist attacks.

Anchored in militarized tactics and militarized masculinities, these somatic simulations called on students to act as aggressive yet rational national security workers who defused terrorist threats. Subsequently, these simulations, and the military values embedded within them, regulated students such that they came to imagine these militarized procedures as the *only* solutions to the problem of terrorism. The infiltration of military norms and practices reengineered the kind of schooling under way at Milton in the ongoing service of the ever-expanding national security industry: Milton taught students the knowledges, vocabularies, gender norms, and routines useful to the global war on terror.

The Purposes of the Homeland Security Program

Wow! What a curriculum! Despite my concerns about Milton's emphasis on weapons, guns, threats, and militarized responses, it was hard *not* to be engaged in the school's Homeland Security classes. On the bus ride home from our field trip to the State Police Academy, I reflected on how seriously students took each simulation, how much knowledge they already possessed about guns and emergency management, how enthusiastically they all participated in the activities, and how eager they were to show off what they knew about national security. I also examined how much *I* enjoyed myself that day: I was fully engaged in the activities; I wanted to show that I, too, could compete; and I enjoyed the break from the typical day in windowless Milton High. In my excitement, and subsumed by student enthusiasm, I sometimes forgot or

chose to ignore the culture of violence that quietly crept into Milton's classrooms and corridors.

In these reflections, it was easy for me to apprehend why students wanted to join the program: they engaged in stimulating, hands-on lessons with their teachers, who often participated alongside them. Students also met high-level industry experts, earned security clearances, and secured internships, all of which students identified as opportunities useful in obtaining specialized national security jobs. The connections to future jobs and the thrilling nature of Homeland Security activities made the program both pleasurable and important to students.

It is easy to critique Milton teachers and administrators for their contributions to such a securitizing program. Yet, on that bus ride home from the State Police Academy, where students had so passionately participated in the day's activities, I began to understand why school staff imagined the program as a meaningful way to engage students who might otherwise disengage from school. Pulled by the dominant discourses of militarism, securitism, and neoliberalism, school staff made curricular decisions to ensure students graduated from high school, secured their financial futures, and served their nation. In doing so, teachers and administrators at Milton hoped to make students' lives more livable than the current context of generational poverty allowed. Prevailing narratives regarding the global war on terror, the failure of public schools, and the deficits of poor youth of color installed the "symbolic structure[s] that limit[] people's capacities for imaging any [other] possibilities" to these deeply securitized articulations of public school reform.[51] Though I fiercely opposed the intense relationship between national security and public schooling that I observed at Milton, these symbolic structures often subsumed me. As a result, I, too, was often carried away by what appeared to be the promises of a national security education.

Philosopher John Dewey, however, cautions that we should not be duped by what, superficially, appear to be benefits of such military training like disciplining students, engaging them in classes, and preparing them for work after graduation.[52] I was certainly swept away by these governing logics at the State Police Academy as I watched students wind through the obstacle course with enthusiasm, excitedly raise their hands in training sessions, and enthusiastically participate in the tabletop simulations. It was easy for these moments to obfuscate

the deliberate training of young people for war and the funneling of their bodies into the militarized national security industry.

Milton's close proximity to a military installation, national security organizations, and major defense contractors made its Homeland Security program seem like the "perfect fit" for the school's "rough" and "rowdy" students. Yet other, less militarized and more transformative alternatives were, and are, possible, even with the support of security companies and federal agencies. Rather than using mathematics to calculate the parabolic force needed to find and shoot a target, how could Milton students study and apply math to document the effects of gentrification on their neighborhoods? How could students utilize GIS to make sense of and map the ongoing suburbanization of poverty that transformed and defined their communities? How could Milton's classes center other epistemologies, voices, and experiences? How might "pivoting the center"[53] challenge this deeply securitized curriculum?[54] Affirming these critical pedagogies and their liberatory potential recognizes that although "content and pedagogy may be sources of domination," they can also "be a basis for grappling with ethical responsibility, conducting critical analysis, and enacting the democratic ideals of equality, freedom, and justice."[55] In this vision of public education, classrooms foster critical consciousness, spark creativity, and solve social problems.

Guided by these democratic possibilities, we must not be deceived, as Dewey warns, by the promises and celebration of military training or by the skewed emphasis on national in/security. Although, on the surface, Milton's Homeland Security program may appear to provide students with active, hands-on learning opportunities that provide pathways to future employment, we must not miss how the program ingrained the common sense, skills, and sentiments that contribute to and sustain the daily operations of the global war on terror.

In propagating the values, knowledges, and skills that make going to war possible, Milton also cultivated students' affects in strategic ways. The simulations at the State Police Academy, for instance, taught students how to respond to particular national security threats while eliminating the "startle factor" so that students could "properly" respond to a terrorist attack in prescribed ways devoid of emotion. The constant focus on terrorist threats, however, also meant that Milton's Homeland Security program fostered a palpable, if not searing, sense of uncertainty,

anxiety, and fear. This fear compelled students and teachers alike to calibrate their behavior to mitigate risk and assuage their anxieties in the name of national security. Affect, the "biopolitical will that pushes ever forward," is, after all, "a resource available for surveillance and modulation."[56] The next chapter maps these fears and their uses by the national security industry to advance the global war on terror.

Student, Terrorist, or Patriot?

Learning to Fear, Mourn, and Love after September 11

Reflecting on the breadth and depth of Milton's intense focus on terrorism, I asked eleventh grader Jared how his participation in the school's program had shaped his understanding of national security. Without missing a beat, Jared enthused, "When I hear about terrorist things, I'll think of the agencies that should be called. . . . That's just my own homeland security instinct." Taking a cue from Jared's response, this chapter explores how Milton cultivated Jared's "homeland security instinct," an instinct imbued with and nurtured through fear. Through rehearsals of potential terrorist attacks made familiar by Cold War–era civil defense education,[1] fear seeped into and organized daily life at Milton. As Milton managed these fears, constitutive of Jared's "homeland security instinct," the school channeled student energies toward thwarting future threats. Given this emotional terrain, this chapter maps the profound effects of a homeland security program enthralled by terrorism.

The Role of Fear in Daily Life

As the smoldering World Trade Center towers imploded on September 11, 2001, deep grief over the loss of American lives and fear of future attacks gripped the U.S. public. Nine days later, President George W. Bush declared that he would "us[e] every resource at our command" for the "destruction" and "defeat of the global terror network." Citing "enemies of freedom" with "murderous ideologies" to "kill all Americans," Bush announced a new kind of war that would not come to "swift conclusion": this "war on terror" would involve a "lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen," with "dramatic strikes visible on TV and covert operations secret even in success."[2] As Bush's approval rating skyrocketed following this rallying cry for a war fought in perpetuity, critical scholars began documenting how the United States relied on

post–September 11 fears to authorize state violence and erase other possible responses to terrorism. Indeed, in a post–September 11 context, affects—fear, grief, and love—constitute an important dimension of U.S. political life. In an attempt to defuse the creative uses of fear to advance war, scholars continue to examine the role of fear in the U.S. political calculus.

This growing body of critical literature challenges prevailing assumptions that people, as political subjects governed by the state, always act in rational ways. Sociological explorations of fear provide theoretical and empirical accounts of how people's affects, not just their rational capacities, shape their engagements with, and interactions in, daily life. Rational, calculating, and self-governing citizens—*bionic citizens,* as Engin Isin calls them[3]—in all their calculating, rational glory, are a phantasy as they are citizens without emotions, without affects, and without fears. As such, Isin offers us a new figure, the *neurotic citizen.* Far from wholly rational and calculating subjects, neurotic citizens are feeling, desiring, anxious, panicky, fearful, and sometimes rational subjects who can be (and are) govern(ed) through their emotions as well as their rationalities. Fear works to manage subjects, and subjects work to manage their fear.

Isin's formulation of the neurotic citizen points to how fear and insecurity serve as powerful emotions used in the U.S. political calculus: the United States governs through terror.[4] The United States incites its citizens, made anxious of a terrorist attack, to calibrate their conduct in prescribed ways to ease their fears and ward off danger. The security routines people undertake—reporting unattended bags in public spaces or undergoing strict security screenings at airports—reassure an anxious U.S. public that these measures protect us while reminding us of the ever-present possibility of a terrorist attack. This process both mollifies and intensifies our fears. As fearful subjects, we consent to these security procedures not because we perform objective threat assessments that indicate that these routines reduce risk but because these measures "make sense" and soothe our anxieties.

In response to what the government portrayed as an environmental crisis from the 1970s to the 1990s, for example, the U.S. public nervously recycled, reduced, and reused.[5] In Isin's estimation, citizens "on a mission to save the earth" undertook these environmental routines

even though they were "unable to judge whether [their] neurotic energies were any match to what multinational corporations were doing or even whether [their] neurotic energies were being wiped away in an overseas jet trip for vacation."[6] Alarmist discourses of environmental crisis incited anxious citizens to "make social and cultural investments to eliminate various dangers by calibrating [their] conduct on the basis of [their] anxieties and insecurities."[7] In this context, fear played a powerful role in how citizens made sense of and responded to the environmental crisis.[8]

Likewise, in the days following the September 11 attacks, President Bush asked for our "continued participation and confidence in the American economy."[9] Working to strengthen financial institutions and calm Americans, President Bush implored a grieving and fearful U.S. public to go shopping. In two days' time, Wal-Mart sold 366,000 American flags, sales believed to "bolster [the] nation's morale."[10] An anxious U.S. public responded to these patriotic calls issued by the state for consumption, an emotional effort to rebuild the economy, ward off danger, and soothe American fears.[11] In the shadow of September 11, fear figures prominently in U.S. governance.

Given this formulation of the neurotic citizen, I also understand danger to be an effect of interpretation rather than an objective calculation. Through interpretive processes, "some risks come to be considered more serious than others."[12] In the United States, for example, statistics indicate that the flu, pneumonia, and chronic liver disease each cause more deaths than HIV. Yet HIV, and not pneumonia, occupies the concern of the U.S. public.[13] Similarly, policy analyst Tom Diaz reports that despite public fears about an imminent terrorist attack, gun violence kills more people in the United States than terrorism.[14] These examples illustrate that people not only identify and catalog risks through statistical calculations but also determine these risks through their fears.

In addition to the differential treatment of various risks, "certain modes of representation crystallize around referents marked as dangers."[15] Through the social construction of danger, people interpret certain visual cues, like brown skin, low-flying planes, people read as Muslim, and unattended bags in airports, as risky and thus fearsome.[16] Cultural, political, and social ideas about what is, and is not, dangerous structure these fears. Fear, subsequently, is not an individual or interior

state of mind but rather a socially constructed, historically contingent, and culturally embedded emotion.[17]

Given these interpretive processes, I did not try to determine if the risks Milton taught were statistically real or not. Instead, I focused my attention on *which* risks Milton incorporated into its curriculum, the vocabularies school adults used to describe these risks, and the political consequences of this interpretive work. Such an approach helps trace what these fears *did,* what they authorized, and how they informed, and were informed by, particular social imaginaries and social acts at Milton.[18]

Fear, after all, is felt and experienced in everyday life and thus calls for a more embodied understanding of its local operations and impacts on people's everyday lives. Yet, as Rachel Pain and Susan Smith offer, too often accounts of fear "tend to fix the everyday in a hierarchical relationship with more global threats."[19] In this approach to fear, global fears like terrorism, urban crime, and immigration shape the fear people feel in their everyday lives. Aaron Kupchik, for instance, argues that national and global fears about endemic school shootings trickle down to local U.S. schools.[20] These fears impose new school security practices used to ward off danger and soothe the public's anxieties about impending school shootings. Like Kupchik's work, these analyses generally approach fear as a global phenomenon that shapes everyday life.

In response to this prevailing hierarchical model of fear that "impl[ies] that global risks affect and shape the manifestation of local fear," feminist geographers have done much work to develop a spatial politics that imagines globalized and everyday fears as deeply interconnected.[21] As such, Pain and Smith offer us a new model of fear that accounts for how everyday fears "bind [to] wider social and political structures" and, simultaneously, "how global fears are also inherently, already everyday in their manifestations."[22] Rather than imagine global events and discourses as always "dribbling down" and shaping everyday geographies of fear, "'scaling up' the materialities of fear" compels us to trace how people's daily concerns in their own communities "travel into" and structure global fears.[23] Following this call for a more embodied understanding of fear, this chapter maps Milton's emotional terrain, tracing how students' daily lives shaped their interpretations of, and responses to, global fears.

The Provocations of Fear

Fear was the last thing on my mind when I first arrived at Milton. Yet fear announced itself immediately. Proud of their new knowledge, students documented how they learned to recognize potential sources of terror that threatened national security. In the process, they anxiously described the threats they encountered in their daily lives and how, in the face of such threats, they learned to adjust their conduct to stay safe. These initial fears immediately captured my attention and alerted me to the political uses of young people's affective capacities.

Instead of being "happy" about the Super Bowl parade, tenth grader Isse worried about a potential riot that could harm players. He explained that the parade "can get really dangerous, but a normal person wouldn't even think of that 'cause they're so happy. But then, just say a riot broke out and the players could get injured or then there would be a whole riot and then everyone would get really hurt." Isse lamented the "normal person" who failed to recognize these dangers. He then proudly asserted, "I think Homeland Security, sometimes, it gives you a whole outlook in some stuff that you don't even think about it." For Isse, the program taught him to savvily assess and navigate the national security dangers he confronted in his daily life.

Two days later, classmate Martrez expressed a similar anxiety about attending a "big function" like a marathon or speech because a bomb could "go off":

> We learn—say we're attending a big function like a marathon, or a speech, or something, and something does go off like that. We learned how to not necessarily pick out potential people who could make a threat, but just to keep your eyes out. Ms. Perez taught us anybody can do something like that. Like they don't look a certain way. But if they have that suspicious look, then you know stay away. Especially in a crowded area like that 'cause anybody could be plotting anything.

While Martrez explained that "anybody could be plotting anything," he also learned to "keep [his] eyes out" for those who "have that suspicious look." Classmate Monique echoed Martrez's worries, articulating, "If I wasn't in Homeland Security, I wouldn't be aware that anyone can be

a terrorist. One of my friends could be a terrorist and I wouldn't know 'cause they're not gonna have like weird clothes." Similar to Martrez, Monique's participation in the Homeland Security program made her "more aware" of the terrorist threats she confronted in her daily life.

Like his peers, eleventh grader Derek's participation in the Homeland Security program, and the fears it provoked, led him to imagine anyone and everyone as a potential terrorist:

> It's alarming. I mean, people from Mr. John next door could be making pipe bombs in his basement. Or Ms. Nancy down the street could be making fertilizer bombs. Or even little Roy next door is grabbing his daddy's gun and going to shoot up all the people at his school who he thinks they hurt him. You got to be cautious. . . . There's definitely red flags so you got to look at your surroundings: something doesn't seem right over here, you need to look into it whether it's calling 9-1-1 or thinking more about it. Looking for the signs.

Derek translated the terrorist threats he learned about at Milton into his own life, mapping national security risks onto his neighbors and even onto his classmates.

In articulating these fears, students accepted responsibility for the nation's, and their, security. Derek, for example, insisted, "We need to have a more vigilant country." "Something happens," he urged, "you got to take action. Defend yourself!" Imploring me to "be more vigilant," he then advised that "you gotta be proactive, not reactive. If you see something, *take action*!"[24] As such, Derek challenged himself to identify the "red flags" that signaled danger. Fear, imbued with official national security knowledge, organized Derek's interpretations of the pressing threats he faced and his responsibility to "take action."

Classmate Tiffany echoed Derek, fearfully reminding me of the ever-present possibility of a terrorist attack in any U.S. neighborhood:

> Terrorists can hit your water supply and you would not even know it. We need people that can defend it before they even get to it. If somebody really wanted to hit America, they don't have to use bombs. They can attack our agriculture, our water, and we wouldn't know. And people *just start dying.* (emphasis original)

Both excited and anxious, Tiffany spoke rapidly, voice rising, as she detailed how terrorists could attack U.S. infrastructures. People could "just start dying" even before the United States recognized the attack. Given these threats, Tiffany urged me to recognize the importance of Milton's Homeland Security program. Because terrorists could "hit your water supply and you would not even know it," Tiffany advised that

> *we need people, young people like us, to know what we doing before we get to twenty-five.* If we already know our career and we're training until we're twenty-five to thirty-something, we should be set. We're the future. We just gotta start now in high school. (emphasis original)

Guided by her new, yet anxious, knowledge of terrorist threats, Tiffany called on young people to diligently train as future national security experts.

In talking with Derek and Tiffany, it was hard to miss how fear infused their understandings of the world and their place in it. For Tiffany, the enduring possibility of a terrorist attack meant that an entire generation of young people needed to train as "homeland security young'uns." Derek's fears incited him to always be vigilant, to "keep an eye out" for suspicious activity, and to "take action!"

These discussions quickly oriented me to how Milton students felt, or at least expressed, fears about a potential terrorist attack. Students credited "being in the program" for their keen understanding of national security risks and ability to vet those with a "suspicious look." Given his own experiences supporting the Homeland Security program, Vice Principal Whiting affirmed that students felt both *more fearful* of a terrorist attack and *more secure* through their participation in the program:

> I've heard two different sides. Kids saying, "Wow! I've never really paid attention to the news and, you know, it's pretty scary out there." But students also normally say, "You know, the more I learn about what the government is doing to protect us and these safety measures they're putting in place, it makes me feel more comfortable." I think they're glad to see what the government is doing to protect them.

The Homeland Security program cultivated a "whole outlook" that a "normal person wouldn't even think of." As Mr. Whiting observed, this outlook simultaneously provoked fears of an imminent terrorist attack in their own community and made students feel more secure, especially as they carried out national security tactics in their daily lives.

These interactions with students and school staff unveiled the tip of the iceberg: fear seeped into everyday life in Milton's Homeland Security program, whether fear palpated classroom discussion or seethed just below the surface. Shaped by expert national security knowledge, these fears compelled students to "take action," "be more aware," and "be vigilant." As I became more anxious in the school, I realized I needed to query more thoughtfully what students and I feared. I also needed to examine how we came to imagine the militarized countermeasures Milton proposed as necessary tools of national security. Milton, after all, managed to adjust *my* "whole outlook" on terrorism, and I needed to interrogate the profound effects of my own "homeland security instinct."

Who Counts as a Terrorist?

Reconfiguring my "whole outlook" relied on Milton's continual rehearsal of the "anyone can be a terrorist" adage. Popularized in classroom discussions, student affirmations of this adage echoed in my head: "Be aware that anyone can be a terrorist." "A terrorist could be anybody." "Anybody could be plotting anything." The repetition of these phrases, recited like proverbs at Milton, engrained a fear of an imminent terrorist attack in my, and students', psyches.

Students and teachers alike reiterated that anyone they encountered could be a terrorist. Ms. Thomas acknowledged the need to "wipe the slate clean" of what students knew about terrorism because of their racialized assumptions. To "challenge their convictions," Ms. Thomas taught students about "domestic terrorist organizations." In response to these teachings, Jacob proudly stated that he and his classmates "used to think terrorists come from the Middle East. And, yeah, we used to act ignorant about it, but we know that there are even American terrorists." Jared, a tall Black boy, also explained that "people who look just like us terrorize. Nobody ever really showed us that people who's looking just like you and me and were blowing up places or terrorist action until Ms. Thomas showed us." By exploring different terrorists

across U.S. history, Milton's Homeland Security program disrupted student assumptions about who could be a terrorist such that "a terrorist could be anybody."

The "anyone can be a terrorist" axiom circulating at Milton pushed back against the stereotypical image of the radical Islamic jihadist while simultaneously expanding student fears. Students learned to recognize every body they encountered as a potential terrorist, even "Ms. Nancy down the street" making fertilizer bombs. This fear encouraged students to adjust their conduct to ward off danger and to contribute to protecting the nation as national security workers or as "vigilant" citizens.

Like Mr. Vitale's formulation of the "bad guys" as "hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states," strategically broadening the definitions of "terrorist" and "terrorism" provokes the fear necessary to authorize securitized "countermeasures" in the name of national security. Such securitized operations increasingly rely on "extraordinary powers" to punish an even broader range of political acts newly marked as "terrorist" activity such that "everything is terrorism."[25] Expanding who and what constitutes "terrorism" allows the United States to pursue and punish an even greater swath of the population—"hackers, criminals, terrorists, nation-states"—for an even wider range of activities in the name of national security.

Despite these tactics facilitated by the broadening of who and what constitutes terrorism, Sara Ahmed warns us to be skeptical of this articulated "structural possibility that anybody could be a terrorist" as national security tactics always differentially target bodies along axes of difference like race, religion, and citizenship status.[26] "The threat," Ahmed further instructs, is not an objective measure of risk but instead is "shaped by the authorization of narratives about what is and is not threatening, and who are and are not appropriate 'objects' of fear."[27] The increasingly inclusive definition of terrorism works to extend U.S. military might while obfuscating how the national security state pursues particular bodies.

Although students detailed how "anyone can be a terrorist," students also prided themselves on recognizing *which* bodies they should fear. Martrez, for example, explained that terrorists "don't look a certain way" but also learned to "stay away" from those who "have that suspicious look." Tiffany similarly argued that terrorists "look like normal

people" and "aren't Muslims like people say they are" but "watched" how people act in public as a way to assess danger. While he suggested that even "Mr. John next door could be making pipe bombs in his basement," Derek warned that Muslims, specifically, threatened U.S. national security:

> I took a pretty deep look at terrorism and, I mean, first you see Russians, but then we, you, go into it, it's Chechnya, it's Islam. They're not big fans of the West and they're willing to do anything to succeed in their mission depending on how radical they are. So the program gave me a better perspective of what was going on.

To give students a "pretty deep look at terrorism" and a "better perspective of what was going on," guest speakers discussed national security efforts to "degrade al-Qaeda and the Taliban." A national security expert pressed that "countries like Iran, North Korea, and Russia" are "huge problems" that "need our attention." She then warned of mounting Islamic terrorism, noting, "There are millions of millions of millions conversations a day about jihads and terrorism, and analysts look for commonalities. Of course they're always talking in code. They're not saying jihad or holy war. They're saying Dunkin Donuts." While watching a film on teenage violence, another Milton student exclaimed, "The kid's reading the Koran! Well, that explains it!" As such, Milton's Homeland Security program communicated to students *which* bodies they should fear simultaneous to its insistence that "a terrorist could be anybody."

Milton smoothed over these contradictory logics that asserted that "anyone can be a terrorist" while actively distinguishing distinct bodies as terrorist. Milton naturalized these oppositional framings of who constituted a threat—any-body yet particular some-bodies. In all my time at the school, I never observed students or staff recognizing these competing logics as a contradiction. Instead, students viewed these logics as a coherent threat assessment. Fearful of an imminent attack that could come from anyone, anywhere, at any time, students "watched" for bodies they learned to interpret as dangerous.

Traversing Milton's "anyone can be a terrorist" terrain, the first "bodies" students learned to fear were those that appeared brown, Muslim, or foreign. Milton teachers and guest speakers, after all, propagated national security narratives imbued with Orientalist logics. As a dis-

course that enables and constrains our social imagination, Orientalism marks the West as "powerful and articulate" and the Orient as "defeated and distant."[28] Orientalism, consequently, shapes the "political vision of reality whose structure promote[s] the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')."[29] These "mundane cultural forms and cultural practices" not only "mark other people as irredeemably 'Other'" but also "license the unleashing of exemplary violence against the 'Other.'"[30] This means that the Orientalist distinction between "us and them," historically and presently, facilitates the militarized management of this dangerous Orient "sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively."[31]

To circulate these Orientalist narratives, teachers and guest speakers first resuscitated September 11 grief through narratives that implicitly revivified anti-Muslim fears before turning to more explicit Orientalist accounts. Such fearful scripts reminded students of the nation's vulnerability to violent terrorist attacks inflicted by the "backward" brown Other and the possibility of future grief. In these discussions, fear and mourning fused, staging the affective capacities used to authorize a retributive war to prevent future loss of American life.

Milton in the Shadow of September 11

My first encounter with these fear-filling and grief-stricken Orientalist scripts came when I observed Mark Dixon and Darnell Henderson speak about their various "deployments" with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.[32] For the first twenty minutes of this class period, I sat in the back of Mr. Ross's classroom taking notes on Mr. Henderson's 2012 role in coordinating the recovery response to Hurricane Sandy on Fire Island. Despite Mr. Henderson's vivid description of his efforts, it was Mr. Dixon who piqued students' interest as he segued into his experience responding to the September 11 attacks in New York. No longer slouching in their chairs, students leaned in with great curiosity as Mr. Dixon clicked to the next PowerPoint slide: an image of the Twin Towers before they fell. Another click: a photograph of New York's ashen rubble on September 12, 2001.

As images of the Twin Towers' smoldering steel beams punctuated Mr. Dixon's description of his desperate efforts to rescue survivors, an

eerie but respectful silence fell over the class. No one dared say a word as Mr. Dixon painfully detailed the debris removal process and use of cadaver dogs to search for bodies. Amid this revivified grief, Mr. Dixon explained that once the agonizing search-and-rescue missions ended, he and others transported the rubble to a different site. There, "in collaboration with the Secret Service, FBI, ATF, and CIA," Mr. Dixon "combed through" all of the debris to "find evidence and maybe remains" for the next nine months. It was these attacks and this immense loss, Mr. Dixon explained, that prompted U.S. military intervention. These wars, he effused, worked to prevent future U.S. deaths.

Mr. Dixon's account reminded students of the possibility of a catastrophic terrorist attack and stirred a palpable sense of loss in students, Ms. Perez, and me. Like in other mournful discussions I observed at the school, Mr. Dixon then offered that U.S. military operations in "backward" and "lawless" places like Afghanistan worked to "prevent another September 11." As such, Mr. Dixon and others called on mournful Milton students to contribute to militarized efforts to protect the homeland from another September 11.

Throughout my time at Milton, 9/11 served as a grief-stricken point of reference that reminded students of their, and their nation's, vulnerability. Following dominant U.S. trends, Milton harnessed the haunting violence of and sorrow for the September 11 attacks to encourage its young people to join the fight for national security. As a political project at work in the school, September 11 grief and fear of future attacks relied on one another, furnishing an affective (and effective) rallying cry for a war fought in perpetuity.

These discussions augmented narratives circulating in public discourse about national security, war, and September 11. On September 20, 2001, for example, President Bush reminded a still-grieving nation that "our nation has been put on notice: We're not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans."[33] For President Bush, national grief justified the use of war to "protect Americans" from terrorism.

Heightening fear and grief, high-level NSA agent Regina Day recounted the traumatic tragedy and national heroics of September 11 during her guest lecture at Milton:

9/11 happened. And I can't tell you, having been a New Yorker and being an intelligence expert for all those years, you know, what that meant to us. We felt such grief and hysteria and I'll never recover. I will *never* recover. I'm not. And I'm going to tell you about John O'Neil. Special Agent John O'Neil, in charge of counterterrorism in FBI New York. He constantly said, "The big one's coming." He felt in his gut we were missing something. "The big one is coming." . . . So on the morning of the eleventh of September, John was at his second day at his new job which was the Chief of Security for the World Trades. John called his wife and children and said, "I love you. I'm sorry. I'm going back in. That's my job." He also called his girlfriend [he was still married]. . . . So John went back in there and he died that day. And he died willingly because it was *his job* to *save lives.* And that wasn't through some abstract delivery of intelligence. It was his job to stand in front of the threat and say, "I've got to help!" *[pounds fist on table]* So John was one of the only bodies that was recovered from the World Trade Center. We buried him in Atlantic City. It was one of the most horrible funerals I ever attended. I still can't hear bagpipes without just wanting to throw up. So that kind of dedication, and that kind of service to the nation is what I model my own work on. (emphasis original)

Putting her own mourning on display, Ms. Day described the "grief and hysteria" she, and the nation, felt on September 11. She also applauded the duty to nation John displayed so valiantly that day, evidenced in his willingness to "stand in front of the threat." Through this sorrowful story, Ms. Day depicted two valued responses to the September 11 attacks: grief for the loss of American lives and the ultimate sacrifices made to save American lives.[34]

After her extensive exposé on the trauma and devastation of September 11, Ms. Day reminded students that there was much work to be done to protect the nation from future attacks. The Department of Homeland Security's 240,000 employees, Ms. Day asserted, diligently worked each day to prevent another September 11. According to Ms. Day, those 240,000 employees "are the ones that need the intelligence *to keep the bad guys out.* And that's our mission: stronger team, safer nation. Keep the bad guys out" (emphasis original). Invested in keeping the bad guys *out*—reinforcing the image of what one student described as the

"foreigner that comes into our country with an attack comin'"—Ms. Day offered to help students join this team:

> If any of you in Homeland Security have that inclination that you want to make this a better nation and defend the nation, I can tell you a thousand places where you can make a difference. And I brought cards to pass out to you so if you have any questions about career development or next steps, I'll help you in any way.

Through her presentation, Ms. Day harnessed the "affective tsunami unleashed by the terrorist attacks of 2001" to organize student interpretations of, and responses to, terrorism.[35] Using her and John O'Neil's emotional response to the September 11 attacks as examples, Ms. Day encouraged Milton students to think about national security careers to "make this a better nation and defend the nation." In doing so, Ms. Day foreclosed other interpretations of and responses to 9/11.

Such grief-stricken narratives fold into what scholars refer to as *wound culture.*[36] Wound culture "takes the injury of the individual as the grounds not only for an appeal (for compensation or redress), but as an identity claim such that 'reaction' against the injury forms the very basis of politics."[37] The national wound of September 11 operates as an important injury through which the United States forged a new national identity. War, militarization, and securitization all serve as powerful "political salves" to this national wound that forms the new basis of U.S. politics.[38]

As with the Cold War, the global war on terror ushered in the affective capacities used to reconstitute U.S. identity through national trauma while generating desires for war. The United States solidifies this new national identity, in part, through heroic, yet sorrowful, national narratives, as illustrated by Ms. Day's account of John O'Neil.

President Bush intensified these national narratives in the days immediately following the September 11 attacks. Working to ease Americans while hardening their resolve around a new national identity, President Bush effused,

> I will not forget the wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield. I will not rest. I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. Tonight, we are

a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.[39]

Extending these mournful rallying cries to "defend freedom" and "bring justice to our enemies," schools like Milton facilitate this reconstitution of national identity. The Homeland Security program, for example, fearfully reaffirmed the always present possibility of future injury and, in turn, authorized war under the banner of national security and in the name of justice.

Although President Bush called for a "war on terror" immediately following the September 11 attacks, feminist scholar Judith Butler asks if there is "something to be gained from grieving, from tarrying with grief, from remaining exposed to its unbearability and not endeavoring to seek a resolution for grief through violence?"[40] For Butler, our collective grief can provide "insight into the radically inequitable ways that corporeal vulnerability is distributed globally" to "critically evaluate and oppose the conditions under which certain human lives are more vulnerable than others, and thus certain human lives are more grievable than others."[41] Rather than call for war, Butler urges U.S. citizens to process their September 11 grief in a way that works to better understand our collective vulnerability, interdependence, and the disproportionate distribution of precarity globally. Our collective grief can work to arrest cycles of global violence rather than authorize war. At Milton, however, students called for war and sought to enact global war on terror practices as an expression of love, a response to fear, and an outcome of grief.

Wound culture not only mobilizes the nation for war; it also "transforms ungrievable loss into absolute disavowal—the refusal of the U.S. to confront the silence of its past, its disavowed histories and policies that have helped to create specters of and for global terror."[42] Indeed, the histories of U.S.-waged war and the political motivations behind terrorist acts remained markedly absent from Mr. Dixon's and Ms. Day's accounts.[43]

Political geographer Derek Gregory warns that "if we do not successfully contest these amnesiac histories—in particular, if we do not recover the histories of Britain and the United States in Afghanistan,

Palestine, and Iraq,"[44] violence and global crisis induced by these colonial projects will continue to haunt the United States. Despite this warning, Milton used these amnesiac histories defined by the erasure of U.S. violence to fuse national sorrow with palpable fears of those marked "terrorist." The continual rehearsal of these collective emotions sought to justify war as a national security tool and an altruistic campaign to develop places perceived as terrorist breeding grounds.

Mr. Dixon, for example, quickly segued from his discussion of his September 11 mission to his 2005 "deployment" to Afghanistan to support "U.S. warfighters." I described in my field journal how, at this point in Mr. Dixon's talk, students and I had fallen "deathly silent with respect and sorrow." As students mourned these losses and studied emergency management procedures, Mr. Dixon abruptly shifted from his 9/11 recovery work to his mission in Afghanistan, a sharp pivot that carried our collective grief into the bravado of war fighting:

> What was interesting about Ground Zero was there was no glass that you saw. There was no furniture that you saw. Papers you did see. You saw some IDs. No concrete because when the towers went down, it pulverized them, so it was snowing the glass and the concrete. That's why you hear a lot of folks that have health problems now that responded. But, back up one [slide], this is one of the sorters they went through and these were standing out there 24/7 for nine months. You can see the rows of the damaged cars. There were thousands of them. And in 2005, one of the other Corps missions was to support our war fighters overseas. We come in with them lots of times and, you know, set up base camps, help 'em get some of their larger camps. This one, we helped, we had some embedded trainers that helped out with the Afghan National Army to get them set up. So we came in and helped the Afghans and our soldiers set up a base for the Afghans so they could train.

For me, this sudden pivot conceptually connected September 11 sorrow to the global war on terror. In this context, the global war on terror worked to "prevent another September 11."

Mr. Dixon began his discussion of his participation in Operation Enduring Freedom with a detailed description of Afghanistan.[45] He used photographs to narrate Afghanistan's history while providing insight

into daily life in the region. These images depicted homes destroyed by bombs and buildings riddled with bullets. As Mr. Dixon illustrated how war had ravaged Afghanistan, he insisted that this destruction was "not our work" but rather a result of "the Soviets fighting the mujahedeen." "Afghans," Mr. Dixon explained, "have been at war since the early 1970s. And most people have never been to school. They've been fighting since they were eight." In this selective historical rendering, Mr. Dixon erased the 1979 U.S. alliance with the now demonized mujahedeen used to militarily oust the Soviets from Afghanistan. Amid September 11 grief, Mr. Dixon never discussed how the U.S. military presence contributed to razing Afghanistan, distributing weapons throughout the region, obliterating progressive policies, and destroying the country's democratic infrastructure. By expunging the history of foreign interventions that gave rise to political strife, Afghans seemed inherently conditioned for war.

Students eagerly ingested this Orientalist history that neglected all forms of U.S. violence in Afghanistan. "Lucky them," one student sarcastically commented on Afghanistan's long history of war. This quip, indicative of students' interest in the topic, encouraged Mr. Dixon to continue his Orientalist description of Afghanistan while strategically eschewing U.S. military operations in the region:

> They've had the Russians come in. They've fought amongst themselves. The Taliban came in. I mean, it's just been, they're back in the Stone Age. . . . Unlike Iraq which had a government and structure and stuff. This is where these kids usually play and as you see, they're carrying the shoes *[shows photograph of children playing in a dirt field]*. Like I said, most of 'em aren't educated. They don't have any kind of know-how or skill to do anything.

Contextualized by his earlier discussion of the September 11 attacks, Mr. Dixon reaffirmed the image of a backward yet dangerous Other.

Taking Mr. Dixon's depiction of the Middle East one step further, Ms. Perez then emphasized what she perceived to be the dramatic differences between the civilized West and the uncivilized Middle East:

> So do you guys remember in sixth grade—Ancient Civilizations—you learned, this is how before civilizations formed cities and towns,

that's what they would do. Everybody would have a group. This is Afghanistan: they have a camel, and everything you owned was in a backpack and you moved with the food source. And thousands and thousands of years later, there are people still living like this.

Students struggled to imagine this seemingly distant place so unlike their own home. They asked several clarifying questions aloud: "Do they shower?" "They don't wear shoes?" "Do they have electricity?"

As Mr. Dixon entertained curious questions posed by Milton students, he reinforced the image of Afghanistan as a "backward" and "dangerous" place. The Taliban, Mr. Dixon insisted, lurked within Afghanistan, where terrorists could prepare to attack the United States. Comments like "Afghan children could be the Taliban or al-Qaida, you never know" and "every Afghan has an AK [47]" peppered his description of Afghanistan. Through these Orientalist scripts, students learned to fear bodies read as Muslim, foreign, or simply Other. These backward bodies, after all, could inflict "another September 11" on the nation. In the shadow of September 11, Mr. Dixon staged the historical and cultural work used to render the Middle East as a "backward" and "lawless" place that both threatened U.S. national security and needed U.S. military intervention to develop. Conceptualized this way, terrorists maintained no social grievances that drove their political acts. They, simply, were "primitive" and "backward."

Given this "primitive" context, Mr. Dixon detailed how the United States assisted Afghans: "We were there to help Afghans progress, help them be better. Now they can go to school. We trained Afghans to have some type of trade because they have never been to school and can't read, write, do math, and are still nomadic." "We" referred to the joint effort between the U.S. military and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. According to Mr. Dixon, the two forces worked to educate Afghans and to "help them be better." The Corps's first task, after all, was to help the U.S. military build a school for Afghan children.

Through his presentation, Mr. Dixon depicted Operation Enduring Freedom as both a humanitarian cause and a national security strategy. Developing Afghanistan's infrastructure and National Army helped prevent future attacks on U.S. soil and protect American life. Yet Catherine Lutz questions this narrative, contending that the United States effectively erases its colonizing work through "the belief that the military's

extensive activities overseas are not only defensive of the United States and its 'natural interests' but altruistic."[46] Portraying U.S. war as an altruistic campaign obfuscated the imperial impulses of such military operations while erasing longer colonial histories that decimated the region.

The strategic blurring of war with an altruistic veneer is known as the *cultural turn* in U.S. counterinsurgency efforts.[47] This cultural turn in part re-presents the global war on terror as both a tool of national defense and a necessary form of "armed social work."[48] Milton students readily digested these altruistic framings of war, imbued with Orientalist yet amnesiac renderings of Afghanistan.

As I spent more time at Milton, the more familiar I became with these narratives that replayed the traumas and heroics of September 11, depicted the Middle East as lawless and backward, and portrayed war as both necessary and humanitarian.[49] Through these accounts, students learned that "preventing another September 11" required the United States to install anticipatory defense mechanisms, from lockdown drills to militarized policing to rehearsals of nuclear attacks to war. Marshaling student fears and national grief contributed to authorizing an "unlimited space and time horizon for military state action."[50] Milton reaffirmed student fears of the dangerous Other and channeled these affective energies toward supporting and enacting the U.S. national security agenda.

Though Milton students like Jacob and Jared detailed how Milton's Homeland Security program challenged the stereotypical image of the radical Islamic jihadist, the program also reinforced this image. Relying on September 11 grief and fear of future attacks, Milton managed how students conceptualized "terrorist" and "terrorism" while continually insisting that the program disrupted conventional definitions.

The Fearful Patriot

For September 11 to serve as an effective grief-stricken rallying cry for war, Milton also fostered a sense of patriotic pride and national responsibility. In a context of ongoing fear and mourning, Milton nourished a love for the nation. Indeed, schools have long served as sites that reproduce "nationalism and national identity, co-constructing concepts of citizen/alien, American/foreigner, American/Arab Muslim, and friend/

enemy."[51] At Milton, fear and mourning nurtured nationalist sentiments, furnishing the emotional attachments to the homeland used in opposition to the excludable terrorist.

In this emotional landscape, fear is "lived as patriotic declarations, *which allow home to be mobilized as a defense against terror.*"[52] George Packer captured these intersections of fear, grief, and love in a *New York Times* article immediately following the September 11 attacks, writing, "As flags bloomed like flowers, I found that they tapped emotion as quickly as pictures of the missing. To me, these flags didn't represent flabby complacence, but alertness, grief, resolve, even love. They evoked a fellow feeling with Americans, for we had been attacked together."[53] Packer warned that the provocation of this "fellow feeling" could lead to war, boldly asserting that patriotism can "assume ugly forms."[54] Enacting the very patriotism Packer dreaded, Milton fused fear, grief, and love to foster this fellow feeling, a patriotic commitment to the global war on terror in the name of national security.

Like the United States, Milton cultivated a "fellow feeling" through nationalist performances sutured into daily life at the school. Although I was familiar with the typical patriotic rhythms of daily life in U.S. schools, such cadences, imbued in Orientalist fears and grief, took on renewed form at Milton.

I first noticed these nationalist performances—exercises of love— on one of my first days at the school. I arrived at the main office early one morning and heard a disembodied voice reciting the Pledge of Allegiance over the PA system. With this cue, everyone in the office, including a parent, secretary, substitute teacher, and custodian, stood and recited the pledge in unison. Unlike my experiences at other schools, people at Milton took this daily ritual seriously and, as such, actively participated in it. Feeling pressured to join this patriotic practice, I stood, placed my hand over my heart, and repeated the pledge.

On another day, eleventh grader Jamal and I quickly walked Milton's long corridors on our way to the Homeland Security office for an interview. When the pledge boomed over the PA system, Jamal immediately ducked into an empty classroom in search of a flag. Once in the classroom, he paused to recite the pledge. Though we were in a rush, I performed this patriotic ritual without contestation.

Milton students and school staff took the Pledge of Allegiance se-

riously and, as such, carried out this almost automated routine daily. They did so in classrooms surrounded by student-produced murals of the Capitol, White House, and Statue of Liberty that donned Milton's walls. The repetition of these nationalist performances produced a "sense of 'with-ness' and 'for-ness'" upon which the global war on terror depends.[55] These rituals reified the American homeland and nourished a love for the nation.

Undertaking this symbolic work, teachers like Ms. Perez insisted that students needed to "give the flag respect" by reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. One day, when two students continued their conversation through the pledge, Ms. Perez scolded her entire class, reiterating the ritual's significance:

> What do you think about when you wake up in the morning? What you're going to wear. What you're gonna eat. Who you're going to see today. Okay, there are people in this world that wake up and say, "I don't know if I'm going to die today." Or, "I don't know who I'm going to see later today." So, you don't have to say the pledge in the morning, but you have to give the flag respect *because there's people losing their lives every day.* Families are being ripped apart because of that. So please, please, *give the flag your respect.* (emphasis original)

Falling silent, Milton students responded respectfully, if not solemnly, to Ms. Perez's demand to "give the flag your respect." Despite this response, Ms. Perez used her lunch period to search the Internet for legal codes that could "force kids to stand for the pledge." Mr. Ross, who stopped by to say hello, explained that "no law can compel kids to say the pledge." Glancing at her computer screen, Ms. Perez affirmed that she could not force a student to participate in this school ritual. She then effused, "They have to at least stand!" For Ms. Perez, "giving the flag respect" was an important expression of respect, and love, for the nation and the soldiers who protected it. As such, she communicated her frustration, and the significance of this ritual, to her students.

Most mornings, I observed students and school adults dutifully recite the pledge, even seeking out a flag if they were not in view of one. In doing so, they gave the flag—symbolic of both the nation and the "people losing their lives every day" to defend the homeland—their

respect. In this daily ritual, nationalism and securitism merged. As with John O'Neil's sacrifice, protecting the nation was the ultimate expression of patriotic love.

The Presentation of the Colors by the JROTC at school meetings, recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, patriotic murals, singing of *The Star-Spangled Banner* at meetings, and performance of the national anthem at the opening of school sports events infused nationalism into daily life at Milton. Together, these "embodied habits of social life," their symbols, and attendant emotions reproduced nationalist pride in everyday life at the school.[56] Over time, these patriotic performances, symbols, and murals blended into the background at Milton, indicative of my own normalization to these nationalist habits and routines.

In nurturing a love for the nation, Milton circulated narratives of U.S. exceptionality.[57] Students learned that the United States served as a beacon for and rightful purveyor of freedom and democracy. As they articulated in class, students came to imagine the United States as "the freest country in the world and that's something we should be proud of." This exceptionality legitimized the global war on terror as both a national security project and humanitarian effort.

Guest speakers often participated in cultivating this patriotic pride infused with a sense of U.S. exceptionality. On one occasion, NSA Threat Operations expert Mr. Vitale invited students into an animated call-and-response to celebrate the reclamation of U.S. cybersecurity superiority. Mr. Vitale shouted, "Now, guess what? The United States is back on top again!" Mr. Vitale then grunted in a celebratory fashion. Students echoed his grunt. Mr. Vitale grunted again. Students grunted together. These grunts eventually gave way to cheers, hoots, and hollers. Mr. Vitale uttered a final grunt, bellowing, "The United States is back on top again!" In this intense moment laced with hypermasculinized grunting, Mr. Vitale called upon Milton students to celebrate the United States as "back on top." Grunting their affirmations of world domination, Milton students readily expressed their pride in belonging to the "greatest country in the world."

Milton mobilized these emotional attachments and ideological underpinnings to encourage Milton students to contribute to the global war on terror and other projects waged in the name of national security. Nationhood and nationalism, after all, can and do "call for ultimate sacrifices."[58] After Mr. Vitale piqued students' nationalist pride and sense

of belonging with his ardent call-and-response, he defined his work at the NSA as a service to his country and an expression of his love for the nation:

> It's great. Love the job. It's a great place. But the most important thing is that I feel that at the end of the day that I've done something to protect this country. You know, I love this nation. I love the United States. So me helping to protect it, *there's no greater feeling in the world,* you know? I actually feel that. (emphasis original)

Relying on students' patriotic pride infused with fear of future grief, Mr. Vitale urged students to protect their own cybersystems to "help protect the nation."[59] Mr. Vitale then stressed, "This nation *needs you.* We need people we can trust. We need people we can rely on. We need people who have that love for country and our nation and things we've built and things we stand for." The security of the nation they loved, Mr. Vitale taught students, depended on complying with and fulfilling these civic duties. Mr. Vitale even declared that "there's no greater feeling in the world" than "helping protect [the United States]." Here, in feeling love for the nation, students feared an imminent national injury and grief for what was, and what could be, lost in the long shadow of 9/11.

Reminiscent of Cold War civil defense efforts, these impassioned moments instilled a sense of patriotism in students that mobilized them to protect the nation. Yet "these productions of everyday nationalism," Abu El-Haj warns, "articulate with U.S. imperial ambitions in relation to the war on terror."[60] The nationalist logics coursing through Milton's Homeland Security program moved patriotic students to train as future national security experts willing to wage war as a means to defend, and extend, the "greatest country in the world" across the globe.

Such securitized nationalism encouraged a particular form of U.S. citizenship that worked in the ongoing service of the global war on terror. "The category of the 'citizen-soldier,'" after all, "does not only involve soldiering; it is also about being a proper citizen."[61] Guest speakers and teachers often referred to students' responsibilities to the national security agenda to *become* citizens. I observed, for instance, local military leader Colonel Roberts laud Milton students for their participation in and dedication to the Homeland Security program and its mission, while defining the difference between a citizen and a civilian:

> Our number one priority is to win the war in Afghanistan. To do things like this. And there's this quote from *Starship Troopers* about going from a civilian to a citizen: "The difference between a citizen and civilian lies in the field of civic virtue. A citizen accepts personal responsibility for the safety of the body politic, of which he is a member, defending it, if need be, with his life. The civilian does not." You are taking a very large step from walking down the road as a *civilian* in the greatest country in the world to a *citizen* making a difference. (emphasis original)

In this moment, Colonel Roberts expressed that as young people learning to protect and defend the United States with their lives, students were in the process of *becoming* citizens. In Colonel Roberts's estimation, Milton students were *not yet* citizens of the "greatest country in the world."[62] To *become* citizens, students needed to "accept personal responsibility for the safety of the body politic" by willingly defending it with their lives. Citizenship, Milton students learned, required that they sacrifice their lives by enlisting in the military, working in the security industry, or acting as vigilant citizens in daily life. "Earning" citizenship, consequently, demanded that students remain vigilant and aware in their daily lives and that they "take action" and "do something" in response to perceived threats.

Eleventh grader Tamara, for example, proudly proclaimed, "I want to go to college and enlist. Homeland Security showed me so many things. It's not just cyber. Homeland security is everything! . . . I'm ready to fight for my country!" Tamara's exclamation underscores how her participation in the program taught her that "homeland security is everything." Her extensive homeland security training meant that she was "ready to fight for [her] country." Through their participation in the program, students like Tamara learned to associate service to country with enlisting in the military, working for the government, or advancing corporate interests.

Given this definition of citizenship, students also prided themselves on being observant, attentive, and vigilant citizens who could "pick out potential people who could make a threat" or recognize the "red flags" that signaled danger. In this way, Milton's Homeland Security program communicated to students that "'the good citizen' is one who watches (out for) suspicious persons and strangers."[63] Thus, in learning to rec-

ognize certain bodies and behaviors as "suspicious," Milton students monitored and, if necessary, reported these suspect bodies.

Derek, for example, proudly detailed his ability to recognize the characteristics and actions that raised red flags. Martrez articulated that he actively "kept his eyes out" and stayed away from those with a "suspicious look," a look that, to him, indicated a potential threat. Monique grew skeptical of everyone, even her friends, as they potentially could be terrorists. These efforts followed the model of good citizenship encouraged and privileged at Milton.

Pressured to conform to a distinct kind of "good citizen," Tiffany and other Milton students articulated a pressing sense of national responsibility to train as future national security experts to secure the future of the nation. As such, students developed emergency evacuation plans using million-dollar software from Regal Decisions and informed district administrators of the weaknesses in current disaster plans. They visited a mobile command center to learn how to communicate in times of emergency. Students trained to be combat-ready police officers and soldiers. Donning hazmat suits, students participated in a tabletop simulation of a dirty bomb alongside U.S. Air Force Emergency Readiness specialists. Through these activities, students' newly developed knowledge, habits, and routines as good citizens became their "normal way of being" to manage their anxieties about a potential terrorist attack and to ward off danger.[64] Students willfully participated in these training sessions because they found them to be fun and exciting *and* as a way to learn practices necessary to become national security experts.

Although Milton's hands-on curriculum effectively engaged students in school, it neglected to imagine other professions as legitimate and honorable ways that students could serve their country. As anthropologist Roberto Gonzalez piercingly questions, "What kind of society is it whose citizens define 'serving your country' in terms of employment with the military or intelligence agencies, as if other institutions didn't matter?"[65] Indeed, what other forms of "service" could Tiffany undertake that "really is for your country" and that "makes you important" other than work in the national security industry? How else could Tamara fight for her country in ways that addressed the sources of human insecurity in her own community, from poverty to decaying public infrastructures to the psychological wounds of military enlistment?

In a cultural context that glorified the military, cultivated nationalist attachments, and nurtured deep fears of "another September 11," Milton defined citizenship in terms of defending the nation with their lives. As such, the Homeland Security program called on its fearful students to make ultimate sacrifices in the name of national security. As Colonel Roberts reminded students, citizenship was a status to be earned, not given, and students could not become citizens unless they willingly sacrificed their bodies for a nation that was not yet theirs. Fear, grief, and love fused at Milton, encouraging students to contribute to the security of their nation.

Quotidian Fears

For Milton students, fears of a large-scale terrorist attack synergized with concerns about an imminent threat in their own community. These daily worries shaped, and were shaped by, more global fears: Milton students interpreted international terrorist threats in light of the events and concerns they negotiated in their everyday lives, thus "point[ing] to the inseparability of the global-everyday."[66] Given their new national security "outlook," students *felt* fear based on the threats they confronted daily.

These fears necessarily intersected with broader anxieties about terrorism, school shootings, and transnational crime. Derek, for example, interpreted threats of terrorism through his own everyday insecurities, including attending school, driving through unsafe neighborhoods, and living next to a terrorist. Like Derek, eleventh grader Tiffany explained that she learned to be more aware of her surroundings, particularly when riding the bus. My interview with Tiffany revealed how the "anyone can be a terrorist" adage burrowed its way into her psyche, provoking deep fear of a terrorist attack even when riding the bus:

> I'm not gonna say because of Homeland Security I've been alert, but we learned that people like terrorists look like normal people. They don't, they're not like Muslims like people say they are. Every terrorist, a terrorist can be anybody. . . . On the bus, I just be like, "This looks a little suspect, I'm gonna walk away." *You* could be suspect. They're normal people and I would just sit there and just like, you know, when I'm the bus now, I just say, you know, don't react. Like I don't say hi

and talk to everybody 'cause you never know. I was so friendly before Homeland Security. I'm not gonna say I'm not friendly, but I was just so open to talk to anybody, anything, didn't really care, didn't really think about it and then [our teacher] made us realize, "Look, everybody not your friend. People are crazy out here. You need to watch out." . . . So this class made me more of knowing to the outside world 'cause I was really just like cool with everything. I never thought, like I thought everybody's good. I don't think everyone's bad or suspect. I just definitely watch how they act, their body language when nobody's right there to see what they're doing. 'Cause you never know. People crazy. So this class has definitely shown me that. (emphasis original)

Applying what she learned in the Homeland Security program, Tiffany became alert in her daily life. She actively scanned her surroundings for potential terrorist threats, paying careful attention to how people act "when nobody's right there to see what they're doing."

As she discussed the potential threats she encountered in her daily life, I read Tiffany as both fearful and confident: she conveyed her expert knowledge of terrorism as she identified what constituted "suspicious" behaviors. Yet, Tiffany also seemed anxious as she described how Ms. Thomas taught her that "everybody not your friend" and that "people are crazy out here." For Tiffany, the program made her feel both *insecure* by alerting her to potential terrorist attacks and *more secure* as a savvy national security expert in training.

Although Tiffany insisted that "anyone can be a terrorist," she also asserted that she looked for distinct behaviors, characteristics, and actions used to identify a terrorist. Other Homeland Security students echoed Tiffany's recognition of the potential terrorist they confronted daily and the need to "watch out for" these suspicious bodies, however vaguely defined. Students adopted similar cautious behavior in their everyday lives "where attacks happen":

ALIYAH: The program made me think, "Oh, it's a bigger deal than what I really thought it was." 'Cause I thought homeland security was a little minor government thing, but they really do a lot more than what I thought.

JAZLIN: Well, a lot of the times when we hear about stuff, it's not really

in our area, but Homeland Security keeps me aware just to think about different stuff that could happen. I mean, I'm a little bit more protective of my family and house and friends and stuff but that's about it.

ALIYAH: Yeah, Homeland Security made me more aware of my surroundings like when I go places and stuff.

NA'JAE: Same thing. Made me more aware, especially like when I'm on public transportation, because that's mostly where attacks happen.

NICOLE: So how do you be more aware? Like what does it mean to be more aware?

NA'JAE: Like you're looking at characteristics like nervousness, packages being left on different places. . . . Just unusual acts that people don't usually do in public.

Jazlin, Na'Jae, and Aliyah communicated their concerns and vigilance when riding the bus, a site "where attacks happen." As they indicated, their participation in the Homeland Security program alerted them to these potential threats and how to be "more aware."

Tyrell similarly noted that he was now much "more aware" of the threats the nation faced. These concerns informed his own everyday online activities:

Homeland Security makes you a lot more aware of things that are going around and it also lets you know about how to better protect yourself and know about your surroundings. 'Cause like, what we're doing now with the identity, the cyber identity theft: I didn't know that it was best if you were going to shop online to go directly to the website instead of, like, when I get an email from North Face talking about you can create your own Denali jacket or you get 50 percent or a discount like that, clicking on that link instead of going straight to the website.

Although Tyrell never described how these computer routines maintained the health of the Internet network, he willingly complied with such security tasks because they "made sense."[67] Following Mr. Vitale's earlier discussion of the networked highway, Tyrell's efforts prevented his own computer from serving as a "hopping point for a bad guy."

Convinced of an imminent, if not catastrophic, attack, fearful students consented to a range of practices to mitigate these threats. Tyrell, for example, was "a lot more aware" in using the Internet and in encounters in public space. Tiffany stopped talking to strangers on the bus. Na'Jae "looked at characteristics like nervousness" when on the bus. Derek was more "cautious" and "vigilant." Milton incited students to adjust their conduct, routines, and habits to reduce their fears and protect the nation.

As they negotiated the intersections of the global and the everyday, Milton students expressed that they feared a terrorist attack while in school. These school-based fears palpated my conversations with students, who pointed out the different ways they were vulnerable to school shooters:

NICOLE: Do you feel safe in general?

ALIYAH, NA'JAE, JAZLIN, *in unison*: No!

JAZLIN: I mean, there's different times when the door's just open for anybody, for anybody. You ring the doorbell, doesn't really stop them from coming in. You can come in the other way. And a lot of times there are kids that just let people inside the side doors and stuff.

NA'JAE: We don't even have [classroom] doors. We have curtains.

ALIYAH: Yeah, like some classes, yeah.

JAZLIN: We don't really, I don't know how you're protected by a curtain.

Throughout this focus group, the three girls anxiously expressed concern over their safety while in school. Furthermore, almost all Homeland Security students mentioned how the curtains used in place of classroom doors would not properly protect them from an attacker. Even Mr. Ross mentioned that the lack of doors posed a security risk and walked me over to see these vulnerable classrooms. Because students had learned that these security flaws could expose the school to an attack, I observed a seething, below-the-radar unease in students as they detailed, at length, the possibility of a school attack.

Given their national security training, students expressed both fear and intimate knowledge of school security risks. Grant, an otherwise quiet student, eagerly piped in when I asked students if they felt safe in school:

GRANT: There are some safe parts and then there are other unsafe
parts. Like there's classrooms without doors so people can just
walk in.

TYRELL, *interrupting*: Yeah and like between lunches and after
lunches and stuff, people usually, some people just walk out and
when their lunch is over they come back in or they could just be
somebody and they come up to the door and you don't see 'em, you
just ignore, or you go open the door for 'em.

Both Grant and Tyrell anxiously described Milton's lax security mea-
sures. They documented how the school's security flaws allowed poten-
tial terrorists to roam freely. Given these security flaws, they worried
about a potential attack.

Students and school staff insisted that these security issues exposed
them to a potentially catastrophic attack. As such, they often demanded
that the school administration remedy these problems and install more
security hardware to make them (feel) safe/r. In Tiffany's words,

I'm not gonna say that I think this school, it's not the worst security,
but it definitely should and could be better. The fact that we have
people's parents just walkin' around the school, that's a problem. Fact
that the doors are always unlocked sometimes, that's a problem. Like
we should not have, honestly every school, every door in this school
should be locked except for the [main] door. If it's really important,
you just walk upstairs and come through. You don't have to have the
back door. We have so many doors. People just walk in and out. . . . It's
just easy and somebody, no, no, no *[said with sass]*. It should not be
like that because that's open for opportunity. People that just come
in here all the time, "Oh, I can do this and do this." And come here
another time and somebody just knock on the door and they could
just blow us all up. You never know. The cameras definitely, when Mr.
Young came, before Mr. Young came, we didn't really have cameras
like that. He definitely is trying to make this school safer. I just feel
like it could be way better. Like the door, the door right here *[points
to the door at the end of the hallway]*—'cause we have classes right
here. . . . Sometimes it's locked, sometimes not locked. . . . It's just
not good that kids can walk in and out 'cause then it won't be a kid.
Maybe an adult try to shoot up the whole cafeteria and then what are

you going to do? So I feel like it should be way better to secure better all. It's a lot of kids in this school. There's so many children. And if somebody wanted to attack us, they would do a large devastation because it's a lot of kids.

Tiffany anxiously told me that an intruder "could just blow us all up" because of the school's lax security measures. Fearful of an imminent attack, Tiffany and her classmates called for increased security measures that directly regulated the movements of potentially dangerous people who might "try to shoot up the whole cafeteria." Like Tiffany, many students supported Mr. Young's move to install more security cameras, an effort they interpreted as "trying to make this school safer."

Trevor, a ninth grader suspended twice for cursing at teachers and tearful over the recent school arrest of a classmate, even argued, "We need more cops. We need cops at the doors so kids don't leave. We need cops outside the school like patrolling the area. I think that would be better. 'Cause, these kids skip class *[snaps fingers],* handcuffs, right back in the [police] car." In our interview, Trevor reiterated that an increased police presence "made school safer."

Derek echoed Trevor's and Tiffany's concerns about Milton's security and detailed his own solutions to these security concerns:

DEREK: I actually do a lot of work with the county's Safety Committee and this school is flat out—I'm going to be honest: the school is flat out terrible when it comes to safety.

NICOLE: And what, in terms of fighting? In terms of evacuation plans?

DEREK: Students here, I mean, the doors are open a lot of the time. Anyone can just walk on in. There's no, like, if you go up to the top floor of the school, you'll see a lot of them don't even have doors. In an emergency situation like we're seeing more and more often like with people coming into a school with guns, I mean, that's just an easy target. They walk in the door, slide the shower curtain aside and be like, BOOM! Game over.

NICOLE: So what are some things, so you work with the county, when you say the County Safety, you mean the county public schools?

DEREK: Yeah, the county's Security Council, which I'll work with and you'll see Abington Manor where you have the nice rich kids

getting all the funding and over here, we can't even get doors on
our classrooms.

NICOLE: So what does Abington Manor do that you would like to see
here?

DEREK: I mean they have a lot of security cameras. They have alarms.
Overall, their school is built nicer. They take their drills a whole
lot more seriously than we do. . . . No kid's been killed in a fire in a
school,[68] but what if it happens? In all honesty, as a country, we're
more reactive than proactive. It always takes something to hap-
pen before we take action!

Concerned with the school's security shortcomings, Derek shared his
fears of a large-scale attack at the school that might mean "BOOM!
Game over" for students and staff. Tiffany's and Derek's concerns about
a catastrophic attack illustrate how the constant focus on terrorism and
national security cultivated deep fears among students and staff alike.

Students learned about these daily threats and how to respond to
them through the Homeland Security program. In an animated Foun-
dations of Homeland Security 1 class discussion about mass shootings,
for example, students diligently documented their recommendations
for improving school security. To heighten this discussion, one student
called out, "Anyone can get in before 9:30. What would your reaction
be if BANG! someone started shooting?" In response to this evocative
question, students quickly recommended that the principal "carry a
gun" and that the school acquire Tasers, "360 cameras, active cameras
that move," "cameras in the hallways," "bigger doors," and "locks on the
doors." Students also agreed that they could "black out the windows
on our doors" as a "class project, as a service for the school." This mea-
sure would guard against a school shooter. In addition to this security
hardware, students described intricate plans about using a bookcase to
blockade a top-floor classroom door and a rope to climb out the window.

To complement these practices, students pressed for a "safety pa-
trol" where "people walk the halls, write people up with citations" to
curb fights. In addition to a safety patrol, several students called for
more police officers, including "cops at the doors" and "cops outside the
school." Ms. Perez affirmed these recommendations, exclaiming, "There
is only one police officer for two thousand kids. Hellloooo! That's not
enough!" These fearful recommendations focused on particular sources

of insecurity (school shootings) and particular forms of security (guns, barriers, and police officers). Fears about global terrorism intersected with students' more everyday concerns about school security.

In this energetic discussion, students deftly discussed flaws in Milton's security and the technologies that could prevent an attack on the school. Yet they never queried *why* school shooters, and terrorists more broadly, carried out their attacks. Tiffany even dismissed the political motivations as she asserted, "People crazy." Although students could explain, at length, various terrorist threats and national security protocols, they never explored the political motivations behind acts deemed terrorist. Channeling students' affective energies toward these specific threats erased other sources of terror and insecurity like decaying public infrastructures and police brutality, and dismissed other security measures aimed at addressing the root causes of terrorism.

These empirical accounts illustrate how Milton students negotiated their fears in their everyday lives in school, regardless if the risks were real or not. Fear, after all, is socially constructed and culturally embedded. Students' preoccupation with plotting school security weaknesses and demands to fortress the school underscore how fear was felt and lived in daily life at Milton. As they came to reimagine school shootings as terrorist attacks, students stayed alert in their everyday lives: they looked for "characteristics like nervousness, packages being left on different places," and watched people's "body language when nobody's right there to see what they're doing." Milton students interpreted global terrorist threats according to pressing issues already present in their everyday lives: riding the bus, shopping online, and attending school. Students thus imagined daily life as vulnerable to an imminent and potentially catastrophic terrorist attack. They also used these everyday threats to make sense of global terrorism. Although "a terrorist could be anybody," students sought to manage terrorism by learning, and watching out for, the "red flags" and "suspicious characteristics" that signaled danger.

As fear seeped into the Homeland Security program, Milton nurtured its students as anxious yet "vigilant" and "combat-ready" citizen-soldiers who responded to perceived terrorist threats in routine ways. Although Milton celebrated stoicism as a fundamental characteristic of national security workers and encouraged young people to respond to terrorist threats through practiced emergency management

procedures, the school also *relied on* and produced fear, grief, and love. Milton's Homeland Security program both fostered and renounced emotional responses to terrorism.[69]

Given these cultivated affective capacities and the study of emergency management procedures, students consented to national security measures like surveillance cameras, armed police officers, and "safety patrols." Moreover, they enthusiastically, and anxiously, called for multiplying these security efforts and sought to contribute to these practices in their daily lives and as future security workers.

Teenage Terrorists

Students were not alone in their fears. School staff, too, worried about a terrorist attack. In fact, teachers and students shared similar fears of a potential school shooting or terrorist attack. Yet whom they imagined and thus feared as potential terrorists differed dramatically. Tiffany, Jazlin, Aliyah, Tyrell, and Grant detailed fears of a school attack inflicted by an adult intruder. School staff, however, worried about security threats emanating from Milton's own student body. These fears organized their daily interactions with their students.

As I observed teachers discuss and perform fears of their own students, I wanted to better understand how they made sense of terrorism and its presence in the school. To do so, I presented school staff with security issues I encountered while in school and asked for their interpretations of these events. I noticed, for example, that teachers locked students out of their classrooms if they arrived after the bell rang. Trying to understand school staff's intentions, and the fears that enabled this lockout policy, I asked Homeland Security teacher Mr. Ross how he read this "school security procedure":

> NICOLE: I noticed that almost every door is locked. Classroom
> doors. Office doors. I see kids out in the hallway trying to get
> in classrooms.
> MR. ROSS: Good! *[laughs]* I've been pushing for that for years since I've
> been here. Yeah! There are still a couple of rooms without doors
> on 'em.
> NICOLE: And the doors were shut and locked and they had to, you
> know, stand humiliated on the outside of the door.

MR. ROSS: Good! Yeah! Good! I'm surprised by that but good!

NICOLE: But so is that more of a function for kids to stop coming late to class or is that, the locking the doors, or is that the effect of like Newtown[70] or?

MR. ROSS: I don't know. I've always kept my door locked. My homeland security perspective is that, because if the door's locked, somebody's not getting in that I don't want to be in here, be it a student who's screwing around or somebody we don't really want to be. Now my classroom's also next to a door that was at one time heavily trafficked. So, other than, I can't comment on what I've seen. I know I've seen stuff *[pauses]* where teachers are not prepared for, our administration is not prepared for, an emergency.

NICOLE: Even now?

MR. ROSS: Even now.

NICOLE: Because I was here the week after Newtown. It was a very hectic week. I wasn't here that day, but I thought you had done some kind of active shooter drill?

MR. ROSS: Having a drill one time is not being prepared. . . . That drill was the first time, the only time that we've had an active shooter drill. And because it's identified as a drill, some teachers don't take it seriously. They'll continue teaching. Lights are on. Just lock their door and go about. So there hasn't been a follow-up with that to make sure that they've been addressed and let's do it again so the kids are used to doing it. But not so much drill. There's no, there's no effective plan. So, fine, it's happening. You lock down. But what do you do next? Just keeping kids in a classroom is not a plan.

In this exchange, Mr. Ross detailed how his "homeland security perspective" informed how he thought about school security. For Mr. Ross, locking doors prevented somebody he did not "want to be in here" from "getting in." He rapidly linked concerns about "a student who's screwing around" to the possibility of an "active shooter," fretting that his administration was "not prepared for an emergency." Both anxious and knowledgeable about school shootings, Mr. Ross imagined the school's lockout procedure as an exercise in security to thwart threats posed by his own students. While Homeland Security students mapped their fears onto an unknown Other, teachers like Mr. Ross worried about an attack his own students might carry out in school.

Teacher fears of their students manifested in different ways during the school day. The following passage from my field journal narrates one such anxious encounter between students and school staff:

During her planning period, I hung out with Ms. Perez in her classroom. Our conversation meandered from our experiences playing recreational kickball to half-price crab cake specials at a local restaurant. Suddenly, the conversation took a serious turn. Ms. Perez explained that she saw three boys with walkie-talkies that morning. She was worried because "that's a sign that someone is going to shoot up the school or blow it up." Ms. Perez said that when she confronted the students as to why they were carrying walkie-talkies, they explained that they didn't have cell phones so it was a way to communicate in school. I thought maybe the boys found them, thought they were cool, and didn't have cell phones, so they brought them to school. Ms. Perez was more skeptical and certainly more fearful about the real use of these walkie-talkies. . . .

Before her planning period ended, Ms. Perez and I walked downstairs to the basement to find her friend, an engineering teacher at the school. Ms. Perez wanted his help in getting more wooden pallets for a home improvement project. As I waited outside his classroom, I glanced over at three white boys talking to each other in the hallway. A JROTC instructor walking the halls scolded the boys: "Look at you! Wearin' hats, actin' all gangsta! Where you supposed to be?" Wearing beanies and Vans sneakers, the boys explained that they were on their way to lunch. The JROTC instructor told them the cafeteria was the other way (it was). The boys then said they were going to the dark room to work on photo projects. The JROTC instructor once again implored them to walk toward the cafeteria.

Meanwhile, I noticed Ms. Perez returned to the hallway. Her behavior perplexed me: she seemed paranoid as she watched the three boys and anxiously paced in circles. Her body seemed flush with fear: she clenched her jaw as her face tensed. As we walked away, I looked at Ms. Perez quizzically. She exclaimed, "Those are the boys with the walkie-talkies! Should we say something?" I remained silent, puzzled by her response, not understanding why there was something to say in the first place—just three boys skipping class. Ms. Perez, on the

other hand, was seeing something suspicious, and so she wanted to say something.

Ms. Perez thought aloud: "Well, people only attack schools in the morning, right? I just don't want to die today. But maybe it's too late in the day for that." "Yeah," I said meekly, affirming that it was, indeed, too late in the day for that. I didn't know how to empathetically react. Ms. Perez's fears seemed so invalid and so far-fetched, but I couldn't respond in that way because her fears were also real. We walked back to the classroom and the conversation eventually shifted, but Ms. Perez still seemed unnerved by the situation.

After the run-in with the "walkie-talkie boys," I began to feel a heightened sense of insecurity as Ms. Perez began teaching her last class of the day. When Ms. Perez first told me about her fears about the "walkie-talkie boys," I dismissed her concerns. I read her as unnecessarily paranoid, and that I somehow *knew,* objectively, that there was no chance these boys would do anything—as though objective risks are related to felt fear. But after our hallway encounter and Ms. Perez's panicked response, I began to think about the possibility of "something" happening.

During Ms. Perez's eighty-minute class, my mind wandered toward daydreams about a school shooting: Where would I go? How would I respond? Would I protect students? Would I hide? Would I run through Ms. Perez's and then Mr. Ross's classrooms and outside? Would this be safer or less safe than staying indoors? Or should I hide behind a table? Who was the shooter? An intruder? A student? A teacher? Did it matter? (And yes, *who* figured deeply into my, Ms. Perez's, and students' fears. She feared her students, and her students feared an attack from an outsider.) Images passed through my mind. Suddenly, I, too, was fearful of students, of outsiders, of teachers.

This anxious story animates how fear burrowed its way into Ms. Perez's and my psyches. Ms. Perez read the boys' walkie-talkies as a sign of danger and attempted to respond to the situation in a way that warded off this danger. While Ms. Perez taught her students that school shootings could not be predicted, she quickly tried to calculate a risk assessment and formulate a strategic response. As she fretted, "I just don't

want to die today," Ms. Perez applied the speculative logics that sought to quantify and predict terrorist attacks: "People only attack schools in the morning, right?" Attempting to objectively assess this security risk, Ms. Perez further worried, "Maybe it's too late in the day for that." As she cast her students as potential terrorists, a fearful Ms. Perez quickly attempted to adjudicate a rational response to the walkie-talkie boys.

The "production of permanent anxiety" in the United States transforms banal sites of everyday urban life like parked vehicles and public transportation into "sources of mass anxiety."[71] Applied to U.S. public schools, walkie-talkies, large backpacks, trench coats, side corners out of view of security cameras, student lockers, parking lots, and unsupervised spaces provoke fears in school staff and students. Teachers, in turn, respond to these banal school sites and items as potential threats.

Ms. Perez's fearful encounter also feeds what Cindi Katz calls "terror talk,"[72] a discourse that positions children as vulnerable to social terrors like sexual abuse and, simultaneously, casts children as the *source* of social terror. Such terror talk mystifies other sources of "horrific threats to children" like economic displacements and exclusions from urban public space."[73] For Katz, the "real terror" is not the "melodrama" of school shootings reformulated as terrorism but the "steady erosion of the environment of everyday life and the privatization of all strategies for dealing with it."[74] Presently, "terror talk" portrays young people as increasingly vulnerable to school shootings *and* depicts children, especially poor youth of color living in city centers, as *the terror.*[75] Such discourses erase the "horrific threats to children" that Milton youth confronted daily, including criminalization, poverty, and gentrification. Indeed, Ms. Perez's concerns about an impending school shooting demonstrate how, within this "terror talk," Milton teachers imagined their students as both victims and vehicles of terrorism. This remaking of "terror talk" and its current currency in the United States informed what Ms. Perez (and I) found fearful in school space.

Responding to this terror talk, U.S. school discipline policies and practices work to protect children from danger. These disciplinary regimes, however, also typically target poor and working-class youth of color assumed to be inherently dangerous and possible sources of violence or terror.[76] Racialized and classed fears map danger onto particular youth, who are then subjected to intensified surveillance, monitoring, and policing.

The recent spate of mass shootings in the United States, however, has widened the nation's fears to include wealthy white boys. Indeed, the media and U.S. public increasingly admit that "the majority of school-shooting incidents with multiple victims have been committed by white, male teenagers and they have occurred in rural or suburban settings."[77] Scholars also recognize that "there has never been a 'Columbine' in a public city school."[78] As hegemonic white masculinity announces itself more forcefully in these mass shootings, perceptions of school violence and forms of school security appear, at the present moment, to be dynamically widening, embracing into their fold the image of the lonely, bullied, white male shooter.

Despite these newly emerging fears, white boys escape the demonization young Black children face. To be sure, then and now, school shootings carried out by wealthy white boys often provoke confusion and shock. Community members insist that white shooters are "good kids" from "good families" and "nice communities."[79] The media construct young white men as "troubled," "reclusive," "quiet and reserved," "lonely," "bullied," or, even, suffering from an undiagnosed "mental illness" rather than as inherently dangerous (as with Black boys).[80] While the media often pathologize youth of color, the U.S. public imagines white shooters as "good kids who did a bad thing."[81] White boys' racial, gender, and class privilege insulates them from wholesale disposability.

Though this reconstitution of white male shooters as victims reasserts the value of whiteness and reaffirms the dangerous Other, Ms. Perez's fear of the three white boys carrying walkie-talkies—perhaps re-racialized as Black when the JROTC instructor exclaimed that they were "actin' all gangsta"—suggests that teachers also feared white teenage boys. At the same time, Ms. Perez never reported the three white boys or confiscated their walkie-talkies. Yet I witnessed Ms. Perez seize Black students' cell phones and iPods and call administrators to physically remove Black students from class if they refused to participate or talked back to her. She did so to maintain "order" and "safety" in her classroom. Like me, Ms. Perez often drew from dominant deficit discourses that pathologize youth of color. Framing her students as deviant or potentially dangerous, Ms. Perez worked to control students so her classroom would not get out of control.

The United States has long feared youth of color as possible enemies,

criminals, terrorists, shooters, or intruders, dating back to political sci-
entist John DiIulio's doomsday exposé on "the coming super-predator."[82]
DiIulio offered that youth of color living in cities would heighten crime
and intensify violence, thus creating unsafe living conditions for the
white middle class returning to city centers. The myth of the super-
predator authorized the mass criminalization and incarceration of
young people of color simultaneous to the rollback of the welfare state.
The 1999 Columbine school shooting revitalized fears of the juvenile
superpredator and, subsequently, strengthened punitive disciplinary
regimes, policing, heavy-handed zero-tolerance policies, and other
military-grade tools to control racialized student bodies in schools.

Post-9/11 fears reformulated the superpredator into the "teenage ter-
rorist" as the new target of antiterrorism efforts anchored in "new levels
of anxieties about terrorism and old anxieties about the sources of dis-
order, danger, and criminality."[83] Annette Fuentes, for instance, argues
that in the post-9/11 era,

> school administrators and law enforcement officials have been even
> more emboldened to apply the terrorist label to students with the
> usual behavior problems, as well as more serious ones. Looked at
> another way, the lockdown approach to school security, which views
> students as potential terrorists and schools as likely targets requir-
> ing heavy policing and surveillance, was in many ways the paradigm
> for the national security crackdown that swept the country after
> September 11.[84]

Schools reimagine young people as potential terrorists and, as such,
subject them to the national security practices used in response to the
September 11 attacks.

Fuentes's analysis of school security indicates that the militarized
strategies of control, surveillance, and containment used in U.S. sites of
war "boomerang" back to the United States.[85] As Stephen Graham docu-
ments, the "explicitly colonial models of pacification, militarization
and control, honed on the streets of the global South, are spread to the
cities of capitalist heartlands in the North."[86] When the United States
deployed the military to rebuild New Orleans, for example, U.S. Army
officers declared the need to "take back" the city from "Iraqi-style in-
surgents."[87] Treating New Orleans residents as enemy combatants, this

charged rhetoric authorized the deployment of the U.S. National Guard to the city. As this example underscores, the security doctrines, symbolic rhetoric, and practices deployed in places like Iraq and Afghanistan circuit back to and structure daily life in the United States. From biometric tracking devices to cordoned-off security zones to containment policies, the techniques of urban control take on familiar form in both Baghdad and New York.

Given these economies of fear and new security norms, schools subject their "teenage terrorists" to increased surveillance, containment practices, and harsh punishments to control student bodies and ward off danger. This racialized, classed, and gendered process, known as the school-to-prison pipeline, pushes students—"risky," "disposable,"[88] and "surplus" populations[89]—out of school and into the juvenile justice system through militarized disciplinary regimes. Patrolling school staff, hall monitors, and security guards read school bodies to determine their risk level, relying on interpretive visual inspections and behavioral observations across race, class, gender, and age indices. Within a highly racialized and classed context, these practices differentially affect bodies along axes of difference.[90]

At Milton, teachers tracked students' grades, behavior, and attendance electronically. Administrators controlled visitors' movements through the school's Raptor vSoft management software. Hall monitors and administrators equipped with walkie-talkies patrolled the hallways alongside armed police officers, communicating the whereabouts of potentially dangerous students and relaying their movements in real time. Security cameras watched school staff and students, displaying these graphics behind closed doors as well as publicly in the main office. Justified under the banner of security, Milton relied on militarized school safety practices like hall sweeps, armed police patrols, hall monitors, surveillance cameras, canine drug sweeps, locker searches, and detaining or banishing insubordinate students.

Generalized fears about school shootings translated to the deployment of these bureaucratic practices—certain habits and routines—to "secure" Milton. School staff "harped on" the need to verify visitors walking the hallways and to enforce hall pass policies. Teachers dutifully patrolled the hallways; secretaries processed visitors; students obtained hall passes.

By observing daily life at Milton, I learned how to circumvent some

of the school's security procedures and to negotiate confrontations with school staff. Nevertheless, at various points during my fieldwork, teachers intercepted me in Milton's hallways. Despite my constant presence in the school, if I failed to obtain a visitor's badge, school staff rerouted me to the main office to submit to their screening of visitors. Other school staff sometimes mistook me for a Milton student and chastised me when I failed to produce a hall pass.

One day, for example, a teacher who believed I was a student sneaking into the school through the back door scolded me, saying, "You just can't walk in here whenever you want, coming through the back door like that." Standing just outside of Mr. Ross's classroom, I began to explain my presence, hoping I would not be sent to the school's Decision-Making Room, a place school staff sent Milton students to think about their misbehavior. The teacher soon realized I was not, in fact, a student. However, he continued to reprimand me: "Did you sign in at the front office? You don't have a badge. You could be anybody. You can't just walk in here." Ongoing fears of a school shooting intensified teacher patrols and the enforcement of these bureaucratic procedures evident in the teacher's continued interaction with me. As such, I acquiesced to the teacher's anxious request to return to the main office to undergo Milton's routine processing of visitors. The procurement of a visitor's badge distinguished me from "suspicious" strangers and limited my movements within the school.

These procedures intended to perform a risk calculus and, if necessary, expel dangerous bodies through "purposeful patrolling" to protect the school.[91] I submitted to these security routines, and school staff enforced them, without assessing if these procedures did, in fact, make the school safe/r. These processes, common in schools across the United States, revealed daily concerns about school security and the procedures used to mitigate these perceived threats.

Following the death of a student and social media rumors about an impending shooting at the school, Principal Young even relied on the military police to help secure his school:

> When we had an issue up here, I called Colonel Roberts and he was here in an hour. He was sitting where you are and we talked. And you know, when the end of the world was coming on the twenty-first of

December, he and I worked, coordinated, brought some of his team
in here and I had my team in from Franklin County Police so we
just wanted to be a *positive presence* so students didn't feel worried
and concerned because everything at that time, the whole county
was talking about it and some parts of the country, the collapse of
the world on that day or whatever was going to happen. (emphasis
original)

Fearful of "the collapse of the world," Mr. Young suggested that the military and local police offered a "positive presence" that eased student fears and secured the school.

Milton community members, however, not only demanded these militarized measures to secure school space. Given the close proximity of Milton students, those living on the Fort Milton military base also called for more security to protect military families from Milton students. Because military families read Milton youth as a security threat, they often advocated for additional security measures that targeted students despite the military canine units, barbed wire–lined fencing, security cameras, and military checkpoints that protected the base.

One place military families expressed these fearful concerns were in town halls on the military base. Although my civilian status barred me from participation in the base's town halls, I observed one meeting organized on Facebook. In this forum Fort Milton military families questioned the presence of public school students on the military post. One person pointedly asked,

Can you explain the reasoning of the schools on post being opened to
the public? . . . I am concerned how the post is able to track who is actually coming onto base if kids (and maybe their parents) are coming
on the base. I have never been to a base where if you were not military
or DoD that you could even THINK about getting through the gates.

This commenter not only privileged the security of military personnel; she also positioned public schools and their students as potentially dangerous. Another person agreed, asserting, "We live on the post for the security and safety of it, but here it's not any different." Others affirmed these concerns: "Military bases were designed to give

the military community a sense of security and a community of their own and it is odd to hear that schools on post are opened to the public." Commenters cast these statements in a language of security, suggesting that they "want to make sure that security and safety of military personnel is still top priority on post as is for their families and DoD personnel." These comments communicated concern that the public school and its students rendered the base just as unsafe as the other parts of the local community. Milton students compromised the base's security.

In these bold assertions made by military personnel and their families, the issue at stake was not that Milton High School purportedly offered inferior educational opportunities compared to other schools in the county. The *only* conversation about education throughout this town hall meeting was the threat Milton students posed. Pressures like these led to Milton closing the military gate between the post and the high school in 2009. The gate only reopened when the base agreed to guard the checkpoint and require students arriving on foot or by car to produce military or school IDs to gain access to the base or to the school. The enforcement of the gate limited students' movements on the military base to the school campus. These processes, military families argued, made the base more secure or, at least, *feel* more secure by limiting, regulating, and tracking student mobility.[92]

Such fears cast Milton's Homeland Security students as both national security *threats* (teenage terrorists) and national security *solutions* (future national security workers). Ironically, as students demanded that their school amplify its militarized security measures, the school, community, and military base increasingly targeted their fearful and fear-filling bodies as potential criminals, shooters, and teenage terrorists. Adult fears fueled the call for expansive military-style surveillance, rendering student lives radically more *in*secure as they confronted these security tactics.

As these examples illustrate, although students and school staff all expressed deep concerns about a terrorist attack on the school or nation, *whom* they feared varied. Whereas Milton students feared an attack inflicted by an outside intruder, school adults continually negotiated their fears of their own students. As such, school staff adjusted their behavior, surveying school space for perceived threats like the walkie-talkie boys and calling for increased security measures that directly targeted their students.

An Interlude: Questioning Fear

Despite this profound affective work, not all Milton students and school adults bought into these fears, including Homeland Security program participants. Milton students, for instance, often circumvented the school's security procedures: they opened locked doors for visitors or students who left campus for lunch, a move that some Homeland Security students decried as unsafe. During class, a few students snuck out to the faculty parking lot and hid behind a storage locker to smoke. If students fought, they sometimes found locations outside the view of security cameras to do so. Tired of the incessant harping about tardiness and constant shepherding by school staff monitoring the hallways, students sometimes talked back to their teachers or walked slowly to class. These small avoidances of the daily humiliations set in place by the security matrix served as small forms of everyday resistance, the "non-confrontational, below-the-radar means" by which students met their needs based on their concerns in daily life.[93] Most often, teachers dismissed these acts of resistance as misbehavior and punished students accordingly.

On one occasion, I observed Homeland Security 1 students respond critically to Ms. Perez's question, "Now that we have all this fear, what's happening?" Students detailed their concerns: "We're repressed." "We're becoming stricter." "We're more likely to revolt against ourselves." "We're having fewer liberties." Ms. Perez confirmed that "the point of terrorism" was to "cause fear." As a result, "the U.S. pays for this" through "strict policies." Terrorists, in other words, were to blame for the repression students experienced. Yet this brief discussion indicated that school adults and students sometimes resisted, or at least questioned, daily national security operations.

Although school adults routinely glossed over the Homeland Security program's fear-filling effects on students' "inner spaces," the mere thought of their own children enrolling in the program provoked subtle ruptures in their thinking.[94] Mr. Hopkins, for example, recoiled when I asked if he would enroll his own children in Milton's Homeland Security program. "No," he responded quickly. "I wouldn't want my daughters to *always be scared,*" Mr. Hopkins effused before thinking aloud about the dangers of the program. Imagining their own children participating in the program served as the single provocation that generated doubt among school adults.

Principal Young echoed Mr. Hopkins's concerns as he related the Homeland Security program to his own experiences growing up in the United States during the Cold War. As he reflected on these experiences, he sorted through how the Homeland Security program might impact students:

> We want to provide a rich context for what we're doing but the thing we also have to consider is the impact all this information has on their psyche. I remember—I grew up in the Vietnam War era as a child—just seeing some horrific scenes from a war and then in doing air-raid drills which were *silly* to be under desks because a bomb might drop on the building or something. . . . I still remember vividly all of that. So these young people are being exposed to some pretty horrific sides of humanity and what we do to one another and what could happen. So we really, so I think we really do need to *[pauses]* explore *[pauses]*: are we addressing this concern in the courses we're teaching and *[pauses]* would it be advisable to create a course *[pauses]* to help students kind of put all of this in perspective *[pauses]*. . . . If you watch shows like, oh, what's that show called, the one where they have the FBI where they explore, they try to figure out these serial killers and things. . . . I mean, I wouldn't want *my* young children at home to see [the show] 'cause some of the horrible things people do to people. But *these* children, these kids are exposed to the knowledge of this stuff much more than even I was as a kid. And if my experiences create the vivid imagery that I have, what does all this do to them? . . . What are we doing for them to help them put it in a framework and in a perspective that's not going to be harmful to them or cause them to have difficulties? (emphasis original)

Throughout the interview, Mr. Young thoughtfully returned to my questions and reiterated the importance of addressing how students processed the program's fear-filling information. He queried, at length, the effects of the Homeland Security program. As Mr. Young paused repeatedly throughout his response, I realized that though he valued my questions, he had never considered them prior to my arrival.

Although Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Young expressed concern about the program's effects on student psyches, these worries never translated into action. In fact, they both erected a division between their

own children and "these kids," suggesting that what suited their own white, middle-class children differed from what suited Milton students. Prevailing racialized, classed, and gendered logics shaped how school adults interpreted the needs of their students, thus inflicting a securitized program on Milton students despite their adamant refusal to enroll their own children.

TCP chair Mr. Samuel articulated a related concern at a Homeland Security celebration. At this event, a group of current students and recent graduates detailed to industry partners their experiences in the Homeland Security program. On hearing their narratives, Mr. Samuel asked students, "How do you balance all of this terrorism, threat, counterterrorism with this is the greatest country and this beautiful earth?" A few months later, when I phoned Mr. Samuel to talk, I inquired more extensively about his concerns that drove this question. He replied,

> You know, that question to me is, there seems to be a need that one, we're not promoting doom and gloom of the world *[laughs]*. You know, I mean, if you're not careful, it's kind of scary! Listening to all this stuff and all this going on and our enemies and, you know, it is just, it is, if you're not careful, it really is frightening. And so one, how do we balance what's real along with, "Hey, this is why we need you, the student. This is why your fellow countryman needs you. And it's real. . . . It's service to yourself and service to your country and your service to our future and our kids." So we have to balance, you know, how do we do that? And I don't know how. You know, I, but it just seems to me, I want to make sure that as we, as we're presenting real-life situations, we're, you know, what's the flip side of that? Well, what *is* the sunshine? Is there some sunshine? You know? I don't know. Creative invention? Something new? It's not all about they're trying to kill us. How do we protect ourselves?

Much like Mr. Young, Mr. Samuel refused to dismiss teaching young people "what's real" about terrorism or calling on young people to serve their country. Instead, Mr. Samuel expressed a desire to "balance" these threats and fears with some neoliberal "sunshine." Nonetheless, Mr. Samuel remained attentive to the effects of Milton's intense focus on terrorism.

Despite these concerns that occasionally surfaced, Milton teachers

and industry partners continued to develop the program, plan professional development sessions for teachers, and recruit more students without altering existing curricula. School staff prioritized a training in national security over these lasting psychological effects. They did so even as they recognized the insidious and tragic effects of the war effort on children, most readily evident in Walter Reed National Medical Center's partnership with Milton to meet the growing mental health needs of students from military families. Fear continued to burrow its way into Milton's Homeland Security program with little critical oversight by the staff and with limited resistance from students. Ultimately, while school staff hesitated at enrolling their own children in the program because of its psychological effects, they continually asserted that the Homeland Security program suited the needs of Milton students.

Homeland Security Instincts

Reflecting, I cannot ignore how fear simmered just below the surface of my daily life at Milton, the anxious metanarrative that organized much of my time at the school. To be sure, "while it is true that with repetitiveness and familiarity people learn to accommodate themselves to terror and fear, low-intensity panic remains in the shadow of waking consciousness. One cannot live in a constant state of alertness, and so the chaos one feels becomes infused throughout the body."[95] Far from living in a state of chaos defined by perpetual war, as Linda Green experienced in her own fieldwork, my time at Milton filled me with a constant state of alertness as my new "homeland security instinct" encouraged me to continually survey my surroundings for potential threats. Indeed, I anxiously learned to interpret the world through the national security lens fashioned at Milton.

Inflected with a throbbing unease, I found myself alert and vigilant, searching for sources of terror. John Hockey contends that soldiers learn to "switch on"—be alert—in war.[96] Yet today, the United States fights the global war on terror on all kinds of terrains, from traditional theaters of war waged on the battlefield to the borderlands to ports of entry to cyberspace to crowded U.S. city streets. Much like it did during the Cold War, the United States urges its citizens that the global war on terror demands a constant state of readiness. Relying on fear, grief, and love,

Milton's Homeland Security program taught students and me how to "switch on" in our everyday lives.

Michael Taussig notes that terror is a state of "stringing out the nervous system one way toward hysteria, the other way numbing and apparent acceptance."[97] Strung out both toward hysteria and numbing acceptance, I sometimes forgot the terror I felt regularly at the school, even as these pulsating fears organized my thoughts, encounters with strangers, and engagements in daily life. In many instances, I failed to notice Milton's use of Orientalist narratives and patriotic pride to structure whom and what I feared. Immersed in this affective project, the adjustments Tyrell, Tiffany, and Derek made in their everyday lives, whether shopping online, riding the bus, or going to school, made immediate sense. Excited by Milton's field trips, I often slipped into glamorizing war, celebrating militarized masculinities, and applauding new technologies of control, until threats of an impending school shooting jolted me toward hysteria.

The contrived nature of these fears came into sharp relief when I left the field. As more time passed, the normality of these fears, seething just below the surface, eventually ruptured. Yet these fears, and the Orientalist logics that enable them, linger today. Time and distance from Milton could not swiftly dismantle the symbolic structures that limited my, and students', capacity to imagine and interpret the world in less fearful and less securitized ways. I continue to be reflexive about how the enduring fears produced and set to work at Milton organize my thinking and interactions in everyday life. Today, as I navigate new narratives propagated in popular discourse about impending terrorist attacks, growing terror cells in the Middle East, and ongoing concerns about the "lone wolf" terrorist, I sometimes slip into familiar roles encouraged by Milton, including the good citizen who watches out for suspicious bodies or who "does something" when I "see something."

Such fears should warn us of the intense affective costs of a specialized homeland security studies program used to cultivate students' "homeland security instinct." In fact, as I pushed Principal Young to consider how these fears penetrated student psyches in an interview, even he balked at these profound effects of the program, asking himself, "What does all this do to them?" The fears his students and staff both expressed and performed indicate that taking this question seriously and finding solutions to it are more urgent than ever.

Thinking Differently While under Siege

Education is the point at which we decide whether we love the world enough to assume responsibility for it, and by the same token save it from that ruin which except for renewal, except for the coming of the new and the young, would be inevitable. And education, too, is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, nor to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world.

—HANNAH ARENDT, "THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION"

When I reflect on my time at Milton, I often sift through photographs I shot while in the field. I regularly return to one photograph that, to me, captures the spirit of Milton's Homeland Security program. State Police Academy trainer Bob Hastings asked Milton students if they were ready for the next simulation in the practical house. Eager to participate, every student raised her hand and beamed a smile back at Mr. Hastings. Swept away by their zeal, Mr. Hopkins hastily scurried to the front of the room to capture this image on his phone. He joked that he never witnessed such enthusiastic participation on a typical school day at Milton and so he wanted to show school administrators the importance of these field trips. Snapped quickly from the back of the room, this photograph catches Mr. Hopkins in the distance seizing this moment, with delighted Milton students raising their hands in the foreground.

Each time I return to this photograph, it comes alive for me and I pause, remembering that moment, that day. The image brings to life students' laugher, energy, and passion at the Academy and in the Homeland

FIGURE 10. *Milton students at the State Police Academy.*

Security program. It also reminds me that I, too, often found myself swept away by students' curiosity about terrorism and their enthusiastic participation in these national security simulations. Eleventh grader Jared's affirmation of the program echoes in my head: "Ah, Homeland Security. It's, well, it's one of my favorite programs, so I would say it's not really a program. It's more like a family 'cause everyone's together and everyone really gets to know each other."

This image, narrated by Jared's statement, endures in my memory. Yet, this memory-work operates through a politics of erasure. As this endearing photograph cements a memory of Milton cleansed through a language of innovation, relevance, and national security, it ignores the program's efforts to funnel students into the national security industry. It neglects how corporatized arrangements between the school and the industry, simultaneous to national disinvestments in public education, enabled this securitized project. It flattens the complex social processes through which hardworking school staff came to imagine a national security schooling as the only school reform project useful in "eliminating the achievement gap altogether." This photograph disregards how such

neoliberal school restructuring interfaced with racialized and classed calls to create military-oriented and work-based educational opportunities for Milton's "rough" and "rowdy" student body.

The good intentions of school adults and vibrant student enthusiasm cannot erase how the program produced palpable fears of an imminent terrorist attack and privileged military solutions to social problems. Drawing from Cold War nuclear panics, guest speakers detailed the minute-to-minute possibility of catastrophic destruction ushered in by the "bad guys." Within this affective economy at Milton, national security experts mobilized fear, grief, and national pride to generate desires for war. Installing the "psychic infrastructures" that demand military action, Milton's fear-filling curriculum taught students to imagine the continued possibility of a terrorist attack and to affirm the need to fight terrorists in perpetuity.[1] As such, Milton students eagerly digested the proposed militarized countermeasures used to ward off such catastrophic futures while obscuring the motivations driving these acts of political violence. When Mr. Steiner spoke with students about the terrorist threats U.S. nuclear plants faced, for example, students dismissed restraint, de-escalation, and diplomacy as effective tools of national security. Instead, bullet-resistant enclosures, common remotely operated weapons systems, AR-15s, M-16s, and other military-grade hardware acted as necessary anticipatory defense systems used to prevent and respond to terrorist attacks.

Given Milton's valorization of the military, students willfully adopted security industry lingo and worked to show off what they knew about guns. Valuing brawns over brains, Milton rewarded students as they expanded their national security knowledge and enacted militarized masculinities.

As images of the smoldering Twin Towers punctuated their social imaginaries, Milton students readily participated in rehearsals of specific terrorist attacks. Like those at the State Police Academy, these simulations taught students and me how to adjust our behaviors, habits, and routines according to national security procedures. As students negotiated their national security fears and new knowledge, they sought to be good citizens: aware, observant, and vigilant in "picking out potential people who could make a threat," whether on public transportation, at a sporting event, or in school.

Although this photograph captures student engagement and teacher

dedication—important aspects of Milton's story that must not be missed—this ethnography also inventoried the affective, cultural, ideological, and epistemic work the school undertook to imbue students with national security knowledges, vocabularies, and fears. Realigned to meet the ongoing needs of the national security industry, Milton's Homeland Security program ingrained the national security norms, doctrines, and practices used in the ongoing service of the global war on terror. Although Milton's Homeland Security program "scarcely looks life threatening," it actively participated in assembling national security warriors, a process enabled, obfuscated, and cleansed through a language of school improvement and national security.[2] Conceptualized as key variables in the U.S. social calculus of the war on terror, public schools like Milton contribute to the militarized securing of society.

Resistance to the Homeland Security Program

Like all public school projects, Milton's Homeland Security program did not go unquestioned. The epistemologies and affective capacities produced and set to work at Milton proved *almost* totalizing.[3] Yet, in the brief instances in which these logics, and their attendant interpretive frameworks, appeared to almost fail, students and school staff reached for other readily available narratives that quickly mended any cracks in these dominant accounts of a "virtuous empire" continuously imperiled by the evil "bad guys."[4]

When Mr. Hopkins and Principal Young, for instance, assessed their reservations about enrolling their own children in the Homeland Security program, they immediately turned to deficit-based ways of thinking about "these kids" at Milton. To make sense of these competing logics that called for different educational pathways for their children and Milton students, Mr. Young insisted that, unlike their own children, "*these* children, these kids" at the school were already exposed to the "horrible things people do to people." Both Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Young suggested that the educational opportunities that suited their own white, middle-class children differed from those that suited Milton youth. Creating a stark division between their own children and Milton students allowed Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Young to imagine the Homeland Security program as an "innovative" school reform project for Milton's "rough" and "rowdy" student body, while protecting their own children

from participation. If the national security focus of Milton's program concerned Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Young, their deficit-laden affirmation that poor and working-class students of color were already exposed to violence or in need of military-style discipline eased their doubts. Although their hesitations indicate subtle ruptures in Milton's social order that privileged a national security schooling, Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Young reached for other readily available discourses to smooth over these contradictions and reaffirm the school's organizing logics.

"Painfully aware of how their bodies are read" as dangerous or suspect in society and by the police, Milton students like Trevor strived to earn a police "badge and gun" that would communicate, and demand, respect.[5] Pulled by racialized deficit discourses that contributed to Milton's image as a "bad school," Trevor also called for "more cops outside the school patrolling the area." While he openly grieved the recent arrest of a friend and unabashedly critiqued the police presence in school, Trevor also insisted that "more cops would be better." Trevor's struggle to earn respect and his desire for more cops illustrate how he was both critical of and subsumed by popular narratives that contributed to Milton's tarnished reputation. Working to make sense of their position as national security solutions *and* national security threats, students like Trevor viewed policing as a source of both disrespect and respect, a site of resistance and allegiance, and a form of insecurity and safety.[6] Although the quest for a "badge and gun" to earn respect and the demand for more police relied on competing logics, student participation in Milton's program blurred these contradictions until they no longer appeared as such.

However much I sought to register these ephemeral moments in which prevailing epistemologies failed—no longer worked—I only found, or noticed, them on rare occasions. Even then, school staff and students seamlessly mended these fractures, borrowing from other dominant discourses to reaffirm the Homeland Security program as an effective school reform project. Yet these moments, and the competing logics that enabled them, however scarce, did bubble to the surface, from Mr. Hopkins's hesitation to enroll his own daughters in the program to Principal Young's reflection on his own fearful Cold War psyche to a student's declaration of "fuck the police!" Although they reveal the strategies used to suture any ruptures in dominant social imaginaries,

these brief moments also reveal the instability of such logics as people struggled to make sense of dynamic shifts in the stated purposes of education, the role of the police, and dominant conceptualizations of terrorism. These unstable moments represent moments of possibility to dismantle such dominant narratives and to fashion other grids of intelligibility. Ripe with political potential, these openings represent critical entry points to reclaim the democratic role of public education.

Another School Is Possible

Immersed in daily life at Milton and dwelling in its energies, contradictions, and complexities, I experienced firsthand how the global war on terror seeped into and reconfigured the public school in ways that serviced the national security industry. I witnessed how hardworking and well-intended Milton teachers reached for readily available school reform trends and dominant discourses to craft "innovative" educational opportunities for their students. Milton is thus an instructive story to tell about how neoliberalization, militarization, and securitization, already at work in everyday life in U.S. society, shaped how students and school staff made sense of the role of education and national security in their daily lives.

While Milton's Homeland Security program unmistakably announces that dominant national discourses and logics remade the school, Cynthia Enloe reminds us that "militarization creeps into ordinary daily routines" and "threads its way amid memos, laundry, lovemaking, and the clinking of frosted beer glasses."[7] This reminder, combined with the everyday experiences of students and staff at the school, cautions us against reading Milton as a contingent or exceptional case. The influence of these social forces is not restricted to formalized Homeland Security programs like the one at Milton as people reach for the broadly circulating, readily available neoliberal-, military-, and security-oriented narratives and discourses to make sense of the world. These discourses, and people's use of them, are not limited to Milton High School or Homeland Security programs. Indeed, the number of Homeland Security programs housed in U.S. public schools continues to multiply, growth supported by a plethora of computer labs, robotics programs, preengineering classes, and field trips sponsored by major defense contractors like Northrop Grumman. Collectively, these new

programs reveal that Milton is far from an exceptional case generated by exceptional circumstances within an even more exceptional geography. Milton, rather, is indicative of a renewed trend slowly capturing public schools in all kinds of imaginative ways. As the global war on terror ushers in new norms and new institutional arrangements, schools creatively craft new purposes of education aligned with the needs of the national security industry.

As such, this school ethnography does not seek to indict individual teachers who, seeking to improve Milton, installed a specialized Homeland Security program. Instead, this ethnography illustrates the social contexts through which Milton school staff came to imagine a Homeland Security program as an "innovative" and "rigorous" school reform project. In doing so, this book critiques how we, as a nation, continue to funnel non-dominant youth into the global war on terror, prioritizing national security over human security. Accordingly, this ethnography troubles the securitized educational pathways we continue to carve out for poor and working-class youth of color.

Despite ongoing pressures that encourage communities to remake schools according to the needs of the national security industry, other ways to improve student outcomes and make learning "rigorous and relevant" do exist. Although Ms. Thomas expressed that "it would just be *silly*" for Milton not to design a school reform project that was "homeland security related," the school's specialized Homeland Security program was not an inevitable consequence of growing national security concerns, intensified commitments to the global war on terror, or continued disinvestment in U.S. public education. Indeed, while U.S. public schools have always served as sites of social reproduction, they can also transform communities, nourish critical consciousness, install new social imaginaries, and cultivate the intellectual toolkits useful for critically engaging the world.[8]

If the national security industry relies on young people consenting to and enacting its daily operations, how might schools resist these violent yet normative practices? How might teachers reframe national security to focus on institutionalized oppression, decaying public infrastructures, gentrification-induced poverty, and other sources of insecurity present in young people's everyday lives? How can schools nurture other forms of "belonging" and "national responsibility" that depart

from neoliberal imperatives and rallying cries for war? What ideological and cultural work might schools undertake to supplant these securitized orientations and militarized investments? Recognizing Milton's long-standing struggle to improve student achievement and "eliminate the achievement gap altogether," what other school reform routes might schools navigate?

Dismantling Homeland Security programs, undoing the corporatized partnerships with the security industry that enable such programs, and valuing classrooms that engage critical pedagogies for all students, regardless of race, gender, ability, and class, serve as useful starting points. Schools, and their communities, can resist, contest, and remake these securitized educational visions in dramatically new ways. These struggles align with broader demands to reclaim public schools and revitalize democratic education.[9] As national security–driven neoliberal school reform projects continue to hollow out public education, we must not forget that other forms of belonging, security, national responsibility, and "rigor and relevance" are possible. Holding in tension the good intentions of Milton teachers and the vibrant experiences of their students, Milton's Homeland Security program serves as a clarion call for a different kind of public education. Schools can channel student energies and teacher creativity toward less securitized and more democratic ends.

With this agenda in mind, the photograph I must return to that captures the essence of Milton's Homeland Security program is *not* the one that opened this chapter (of Mr. Hopkins snapping a picture of his enthusiastic students), no matter how endearing I find it. Rather, the image that now seems so glaringly critical to Milton's story is the photo that comes after this celebratory moment: it is the photograph of these same students holding Blueguns distributed by police trainer Mr. Hastings. It is the photograph that captures students skillfully wielding these weapons just minutes before they busted down the practical house's door, aggressively sweeping each room with excitement and a familiarity with emergency management procedures. This image, after all, powerfully registers not only how engaged students were in the Homeland Security program but also how they diligently prepared to contribute to the fortressing of their nation and the waging of the war on terror as good, yet fearful, citizens. It is *this* photograph, and the structural and everyday forms of racism, heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism pulsing

beneath it, that I hope this book depicts and leaves lingering in readers' minds. Milton, after all, contributed to the cultural, ideological, affective, and epistemological retooling of young people that makes going to war possible. Schools like Milton are not only under siege— reengineered by new norms imposed by the global war on terror—but also actively contribute to preparations for the siege itself.

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NOTES

Introduction

1. The names of all research participants, community members, schools, programs, groups, classes, military bases, towns, neighborhoods, and counties have been changed. I did not, however, change the names of major defense contractors like Northrop Grumman and federal agencies like the National Security Agency (NSA). If a private security agency was so small such that a participant might be identifiable, I simply omitted the name of the company. I also altered other identifying information, including details about the school and its students, to protect the anonymity of participants.

2. Before I could conduct research at Milton, the school district required that I undergo a background check that included archiving my fingerprints. I received a fingerprint registry card verifying my completion of this process. The district required that I carry this card at all times.

3. The U.S. government defines homeland security as a subset of national security. *Homeland security* denotes domestic security issues, whereas *national security* encompasses both domestic and foreign threats (Kahan 2013; Newmann 2002). Although Milton named its specialized program Homeland Security, it focused on both domestic and foreign issues. Moreover, Nancy Hiemstra (2014, 572) offers that "the fusion of *homeland* with security has yielded a phrase heavy with meaning that works to govern populations by shaping perceptions and guiding behavior in particular ways (Walters 2004). Today, 'homeland security' has become the anchor for a powerful normative discourse, scripted and manipulated by authors of statecraft." *Homeland* works as a handy moniker used to demarcate, and thus instill a sense of fear toward, the "excludable foreigner" (572). Recognizing how discursive representations of the "homeland" install the ideological and moral undercurrents that drive the global war on terror as well as the links between domestic and foreign policies, I use the term *national security,* unless research participants used *homeland security.*

4. Most of the Homeland Security programs I discovered maintained an active online presence or had collaborated with Milton school staff at some point in time.

5. Northrop Grumman Corporation 2011, 25.

6. Northrop Grumman Corporation 2013a.

7. Northrop Grumman Corporation 2011, 25.

8. Da Vinci Schools 2009.

9. Gregory 2004; Gregory and Pred 2007.

10. Mills 1959, 6.

11. Bulmer 1982a; 1982b; 1982c; Calvey 2008; Denzin and Erikson 1982; Herrera 1999; Lugosi 2006; Shils 1982; Warwick 1982.

12. Masco 2014, 19.

13. Although the particulars of Milton's case are not present in every U.S. school, it is an instructive story to tell as it readily illuminates how the prevailing discourses, doctrines, and practices associated with the national security agenda structure everyday life in U.S. public schools and society.

1. Teaching War and Feeling Fear

1. Butler 2004, 16.
2. Sparke 2006, 153.
3. Brown 2005; Harvey 2005; Larner 2000; Ong 2006.
4. Ong 2006, 4.
5. Brenner and Theodore 2002, 362.
6. Brenner and Theodore 2002; Harvey 2007.
7. Lipman 2011b; 2012.
8. Lipman 2011b, 54.
9. Lipman 2011b, 104.
10. Buras 2015, 15.
11. Means 2013, 62.
12. Means 2013.
13. Buras 2012; 2015; Fine and Ruglis 2009; Lipman 2011b; Means 2013.
14. Fine and Ruglis 2009, 20.
15. Mr. Arnold provided this assessment of FCPS's strategy.
16. For more on how "actually existing neoliberalism" unfolds in context-specific ways, please refer to Brenner and Theodore (2002) and Peck, Theodore, and Brenner (2012).
17. Collier 2012, 186.
18. For more on the rise of these punivitive policies, see Fuentes (2011), Nolan (2011), and Wacquant (2009).
19. For more on social control, please refer to Beckett and Herbert (2010) and Mitchell and Beckett (2008).
20. See Chronopoulos 2011; Gau and Pratt 2010; Giroux 2003; Glassner 2009; D. Mitchell 2003; Mitchell and Beckett 2008; Verdugo 2002.
21. Kelling and Wilson 1982.
22. Beckett and Herbert 2010.
23. For more on the legislation that authorized these aggressive discipline policies like Reagan's 1986 Drug Free Schools Act and Clinton's 1994 passage of the Safe Gun Free Schools Act, please refer to Fuentes (2011) and Nolan (2011).
24. Bloomberg and Klein 2003, para. 1.
25. Drum Major Institute 2005.
26. Drum Major Institute 2005.
27. Nolan 2011.
28. Nolan 2011, 63.
29. Fuentes 2011, 54.
30. Although studies have well documented how schools target Black boys for harsh punishments, a new report highlights the overpolicing of Black girls (Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda 2015). This, and other ongoing work, calls attention to how zero-tolerance policies and daily school punishments disproportionately target non-dominant youth, including cisgender girls of color, transgender and queer youth, and students with disabilities.
31. Longtime teacher and original Homeland Security program coordinator Mr. Sanford detailed this history to me.

32. Cowen and Smith 2009, 32.
33. Geyer 1989, 79.
34. Enloe 2004, 219–20.
35. For more on militarization, please refer to Caufield (2001), Enloe (2000), Feinman (2000), Geyer (1989), Johnson (2005), Kraska and Kappeler (1997), Kraska (2001), and Lutz (2002).
36. Burke 2004, 25.
37. Wall 2010, 106.
38. Johnson 2014.
39. Perez 2015.
40. Johnson 2014; Lipman 2011b; Perez 2015.
41. U.S. Department of Defense, n.d.
42. Troops to Teachers: Proud to Serve Again 2013.
43. Wall 2010, 105.
44. Tannock 2005; Wall 2010.
45. Wall 2010.
46. Johnson 2014; Means 2013; Saltman and Gabbard 2011.
47. Bartlett and Lutz 1998, 123.
48. Perez 2015, 34.
49. Bartlett and Lutz 1998, 124.
50. Bernazzoli and Flint 2009, 449.
51. Saltman 2011, 16.
52. Saltman 2003.
53. Kay 2009; Means 2011.
54. National Defense Education Act 1958.
55. Barnes and Farish 2006, 808.
56. Barnes and Farish 2006, 808. Eisenhower later popularized the term *military-industrial-academic complex* in a 1961 speech warning the U.S. public of this troubling relationship between the military and the academy.
57. Pickering 1995a; 1995b.
58. Pickering 1995a, 18.
59. Haraway 1997, 49–51.
60. Barnes and Farish 2006, 811–12.
61. Pinkerton, Young, and Dodds 2011, 839, 825.
62. Pinkerton, Young, and Dodds 2011, 820.
63. Ro 2012.
64. Lawrence Livermore National Labratory 2013.
65. Lawrence Livermore National Labratory 2013.
66. Kohn and Badash 1989.
67. Ridgway 1954, 506.
68. Ridgway 1954, 505–6.
69. McMahon 1953, 440.
70. McGowan 1952, 138.
71. National Security Education Program 2013.
72. Kay 2009, 2; also National Security Education Program 2013.
73. National Security Education Program 2013.
74. Kay 2009, 4.
75. Klein, Rice, and Levy 2012, 2.
76. Hart et al. 2001, 38–39.
77. Quoted in Gonzalez 2010, 36.

78. Gonzalez 2010.
79. Fort Milton Group 2011, 3.
80. Center for Homeland Defense and Security 2015.
81. Forensic and National Security Sciences Institute at Syracuse University 2013.
82. Tobin 2013.
83. Gregory 2008.
84. Kilcullen 2010.
85. U.S. Army 2013.
86. Gregory 2008, 4.
87. Der Derian 2010.
88. Northrop Grumman Corporation 2013b, paras. 3–4.
89. Smith 2014, para. 1.
90. Riede 2014.
91. Media Relations Office 2015, para. 1.
92. Vicens 2013.
93. National Institute of Standards and Technology 2013.
94. National Institute of Standards and Technology 2013.
95. Quoted in Defense Information Systems Agency 2012, para. 12, emphasis added.
96. Trotter 2013.
97. Quoted in Gavel 2013.
98. Gavel 2013.
99. *Mainline Media News* 2012.
100. Gordon 2013.
101. See, e.g., Bauman 2006; Furedi 2002; Glassner 2009; Kupchik 2010.
102. Ahmed 2004.
103. Ahmed 2004, 7.
104. Ahmed 2004, 7.
105. Ahmed 2004, 68.
106. Campbell 1992, 2.

2. The Covert Researcher

1. An Institutional Review Board is a U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA)-regulated oversight committee that reviews and monitors research projects involving human subjects. Researchers submit proposals, protocols, and consent documents to the IRB for review, modification, and approval. This process works to protect the rights and welfare of human subjects and compels researchers to follow ethical guidelines outlined by the FDA. For more information on IRBs, please visit the FDA's website: http://www.fda.gov/RegulatoryInformation/Guidances/ucm126420.htm.

2. Hatch 2002, 67.
3. Geertz 1973.
4. Hammersley 1992, 152.
5. I formally interviewed or conducted focus groups with thirty-two research participants, including sixteen Homeland Security students, two Homeland Security teachers, one former Homeland Security teacher, one mathematics teacher, six building-level administrators, four district-led administrators, and two national security experts. Yet more clearly enumerating how many focus groups and interviews I carried out is complicated. Although I only formally interviewed Mr. Sanford once, my most meaningful conversations occurred when we bantered in the Homeland Security office, sometimes for an entire class period. How could I count these, and many other, unstructured interviews that occurred in such an ad hoc yet fruitful manner?

Differentiating focus groups from interviews also proved difficult. For example, when I conducted a three-hour focus group with three school administrators, sometimes all three contributed to the discussion. At other times, two administrators left the room to field phone calls, and so I asked the remaining research participant more personal questions that did not depend on group narrative construction. These exchanges sometimes lasted twenty or thirty minutes. When the other participants returned, we sometimes continued the discussion, incorporating their perspectives, and sometimes altered course altogether. Did this focus group also include individual interviews?

   6. Bogdan and Biklen 2007, 22.

   7. Wooffitt 2005, 148.

   8. Noah 2012.

   9. See Bulmer 1982a; 1982b; Calvey 2008; Lugosi 2006; Punch 1986.

  10. See Bulmer 1982c; Denzin and Erikson 1982.

  11. See de Laine 2000.

  12. See Goode 2001; Punch 1986.

  13. See Bok 1983.

  14. Von Hoffman 1970.

  15. Warwick 1982, 211.

  16. Beauchamp et al. 1982.

  17. For more on "studying up"—conducting research on those in power—please see Nader (1972).

  18. See Denzin and Erikson 1982, 147.

  19. Diamond 1992.

  20. Goffman 1961.

  21. Thompson 1988.

  22. Orr 2006.

  23. National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research 1978, 9.

  24. Economic and Social Research Council 2010, 30.

  25. Johnson 2014.

  26. Calvey 2008, 909.

  27. Goffman 1959, 58.

  28. Lugosi 2006.

  29. Yoshino 2006.

  30. For more on downplaying, or "covering," particular identities, please see Yoshino (2006).

  31. I am half white and half Vietnamese. I identify as a second-generation immigrant and person of color.

  32. Twine 2000, 13.

  33. Punch 1986, 73.

  34. For more on betrayal and qualitative research, please refer to de Laine (2000), England (1994), Islam (2000), Lather (1997), Macbaeth (2001), Smirl (2008), and Stacey (1988).

  35. Doucet 2008; England 1994; Guillemin and Gillam 2004; Nagar and Geiger 2007; Patai 1991; Roberts and Sanders 2005; Rose 1997; Seganti 2010.

3. This Is Your Future

   1. These demographics are based on the numbers provided by the state. I do not name the source directly to protect the anonymity of the school. Identifying data have been changed.

2. Military OneSource 2014.
3. Military OneSource 2014.
4. Military OneSource 2014.
5. Paglen 2010, 173.
6. Greenwald 2014; Scahill 2013.
7. Paglen 2010, 173.
8. Paglen 2010, 174–75.
9. Milton students did not wear uniforms. They chose their own clothes, which sometimes included a desert-colored military belt or a U.S. Army T-shirt.
10. Gordon 1997.
11. For more on banal militarism, please refer to Thomas and Virchow (2006).
12. Katz 2007, 350.
13. Nyers 2004.
14. Katz 2007, 351.
15. Billig 1995.
16. Katz 2007, 359.
17. Nyers 2009.
18. The Fort Milton Group was a nonprofit, independent community organization comprising more than one hundred government agencies from the NSA to the Marine Cryptologic Support Battalion. More than two hundred regional businesses also contributed to the Fort Milton Group, including major utility providers, security and technology firms, and the hospitality industry. Together, this alliance of stakeholders worked to support the military base and drive up the local economy. Their efforts reached into Milton High School, where they contributed to ongoing discussions about its Homeland Security program and even provided scholarships for graduating students to continue their studies.
19. For critiques of the broken windows theory, see Harcourt (2001), Wacquant (2009), Sampson and Raudenbush (2004), and Harcourt and Ludwig (2006).
20. This information was reported in local newspapers and confirmed by Mr. Sanford.
21. At the time of my fieldwork, 40 percent of Milton students qualified for free and reduced-price lunch, approximately 30 percent of students came from military families, and 20 percent of students identified as white.
22. Ross 2010.
23. Principal Young served as a principal at other schools outside of Franklin County Public Schools prior to his 2012 arrival at Milton.
24. Local newspapers documented these pressures; I do not name these sources directly to maintain the anonymity of the school.
25. Franklin County Public Schools, n.d., 1.
26. This was Mr. Sanford's description of the change in the school.
27. Dalby 2008, 6.
28. Darling-Hammond 2010.
29. CCENT stands for Cisco Certified Entry Networking Technician, a certificate for entry-level network support positions. CompTIA (Computing Technology Industry Association) is a trade association that provides professional certifications in the information technology industry. A+ is a certification for computer technicians. Net+ or Network+ is a certification for network technicians. For more on these certifications, please refer to CompTIA's website at http://certification.comptia.org/getCertified/certifications.aspx.
30. National CyberWatch Center 2015.
31. In this region of the United States, each county maintains one unified school

district. Franklin County Public Schools, for example, included all 81,500 of Franklin County's youth. At the time of my fieldwork, MHSNE included eleven different counties and thus eleven large school districts.

32.   In this corporatized context, "rigor" related to how adequately a program of study prepared young people for jobs in the security industry. "Relevance" referred to the connections between the classroom and workplace.

33.   CyberWatch is an Information Assurance/Information Security Advanced Technology Education Center of the National Science Foundation. According to its website, it works to "increase the quantity and quality of the information assurance workforce" through a number of different K–16 educational initiatives and programs.

34.   For more information on UASI grants, please refer to http://www.fema.gov/fy -2013-homeland-security-grant-program-hsgp-0#3.

35.   Given funding policies about who could apply for and receive grants, the Department of Homeland Security dispersed UASI funds directly to local (state-level) Offices of Emergency Management (OEMs). The OEMs then distributed the funds to the schools.

36.   Despite the rhetoric of "small" government and "deregulated" markets, the neoliberal state actively mediates the "rolling back" of public goods like public housing and the "rolling out" of new practices that serve capital accumulation. The state "*re-regulates*—rather than de-regulates—the economy in favor of corporations" while retreating from its social responsibilities (Wacquant 2012, 72).

37.   Gordon 2004, 26.

38.   This quotation came from my interview with Ms. Thomas.

39.   Gutstein 2003; 2006.

40.   Freire 1970; 1998.

41.   Gutstein 2003, 45.

42.   Gutstein 2006, 26.

43.   Milton students visited Virginia Tech to learn more about the 2007 mass shooting at the campus.

44.   For more on these contradictions, please refer to Brigden and Vogt (2014).

45.   Ms. Foster and Mr. Arnold used these terms.

46.   McMahon 1953, 440.

47.   Bourdieu 1990; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bowles 1982; Foucault 1977; Katz 1968; Willis 1981.

48.   See, e.g., Alexander 2005; Antrop-González 2011; Balzer 2008; Freire 1970; 1998; Giroux 2001b; Gutstein 2006; 2012; hooks 2003; Ladson-Billings 1995; 1994; Macrine, McLaren, and Hill 2010; Mohanty 2003; Nagd, Gurin, and Lopez 2003; Sanchez-Casal and MacDonald 2002.

49.   At the time of my fieldwork, TCP members involved in the Steering Committee only included partners from private security companies, not government organizations.

50.   Milton administrators gifted me with the World Cafe book that informed how they structured their collaborations with industry partners. Please see Brown, Isaacs, and World Cafe Community (2005).

51.   Scholars Sleeter and Grant (1988) name this multicultural educational philosophy "Teaching the Exceptional and the Culturally Different," which emphasizes teaching diverse students the hegemonic skills, values, and information needed to succeed in the classroom and, eventually, on the job market. Yet this approach to teaching diverse learners ignores how power and institutionalized oppression define

these societal norms, discard students' rich backgrounds, and limit the possibility of a participatory democracy.

52. Goodman and Saltman 2002.

53. Bourdieu 1986.

54. Ong 2006.

55. Mr. Hopkins hoped students would "make careers" out of entry-level jobs in the security industry.

56. Rose 2009, 9.

57. For more on neoliberal governmentality, please refer to Brown (2005), Harvey (2005), Larner (2000), Ong (2006), Rose (2007), and Walkerdine and Bansel (2010).

58. Foucault 2007.

59. Gibson 1994.

60. Ms. Perez did not elaborate on what she meant by students' "backgrounds," but I interpreted this statement as a way to communicate her belief that students had committed crimes that disqualified them from earning a security clearance, a deeply racialized assumption.

61. "Military grunts" is military terminology describing troops with no formal training sent to the front lines. *Grunt* is an acronym for "general replacement untrained."

62. District administrator Barbara Foster used these vocabularies to describe the intentions of Milton's program.

63. Rose 2009.

64. Cowen and Siciliano 2011a.

65. Cowen and Siciliano 2011b, 1517.

66. Bowles 1982, 35–36.

67. For more on social and cultural capital, please refer to Bourdieu (1990).

68. Giroux 1999.

4. Teaching Terrorism

1. Shortly after I completed my fieldwork, Milton hired an additional teacher as more students enrolled in the program. The school also developed additional Homeland Security courses.

2. At the time of my fieldwork, Fort Milton had two middle schools: Davis Middle School and Milton Middle School. Because Milton Middle School was a two-minute walk from Milton High School, middle school students had the opportunity to attend several Homeland Security events at the school. Davis Middle School, however, was a bus ride away. This distance prevented its students from similar inclusion into the high school Homeland Security program.

3. CIKR refers to the systems vital to U.S. life, including its power grid, water supply, transportation systems, and chemical facilities.

4. Presidential Directive 7 "establishes a national policy for Federal departments and agencies to identify and prioritize critical infrastructure and to protect them from terrorist attacks . . . and the roles various federal, state, and local agencies will play." For more information, visit http://www.dhs.gov/homeland-security -presidential-directive-7.

5. While Ms. Perez had already begun her unit on school safety, the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting occurred on December 14, 2012, heightening the focus on school safety.

6. Students not formally enrolled in the Homeland Security program could also

register for GIS classes. In doing so, these students could also participate in Homeland Security events, field trips, and internships.

7.   Feminist geographers have long critiqued the hegemonic use of GIS to maintain the status quo (Brown and Knopp 2008; Elwood 2002; Haraway 1988; 1997; Knigge and Cope 2006; Kwan 2002; 2012; McLafferty 2005; Pavlovskaya and St. Martin 2007). A feminist (re)visualization of GIS combined with qualitative methodological approaches contests dominant ways of imagining space and transforms GIS into a source of empowerment used by community members (Brown and Knopp 2008, 44; Elwood 2002; Kwan 2012). Using GIS in this way can help mitigate social inequalities rather than increase policing or contribute to neoliberal policies.

8.   SIGINT focuses on intercepting communication signals between people, radars, and weapons systems.

9.   Penetration testing includes attacking a computer system with the intention of finding security weaknesses. Penetration testing operates as a security audit and assessment tool.

10.   Northrop Grumman and Lockheed Martin partners served as the main architects of these applications at Milton.

11.   Mr. Ross discussed this conference with General Hayden in an interview.

12.   For more on the strategic portrayal of the United States as defensive rather than aggressive, please refer to Hannah (2006), Kaplan (2003; 2004), Parenti (1998; 1999), Puar and Rai (2002), and Puar (2007).

13.   This discussion came a few months before the Edward Snowden revelations that first emerged in June 2013.

14.   Cf. Ahmed 2000; 2004; Campbell 1992.

15.   For more on the ongoing NSA revelations, please consult Greenwald and Ackerman (2013), Greenwald and Ball (2013), Greenwald and MacAskill (2013a; 2013b), and Greenwald (2013; 2014).

16.   Greenwald 2014.

17.   Masco 2014, 19.

18.   George 2003, 28.

19.   Stampnitzky 2013, 104.

20.   Nevins 2008, 73.

21.   Hiemstra 2014, 572.

22.   For more on indefinite detention, extraordinary rendition, and torture, please refer to Butler (2004), Gregory (2006), Hannah (2006), and Heiner (2007).

23.   For more on American exceptionalism, please see de Tocqueville (1840) and Lipset (1996).

24.   Senate Select Committee on Intelligence 2015.

25.   Gregory 2007.

26.   Like Mr. Vitale, Mr. Steiner used images, provided real-life examples, and told jokes, strategies that effectively engaged students. Throughout my time at Milton, teachers' and guest speakers' pedagogies impressed me, especially as students articulated their understanding of complex national security issues.

27.   "Adversary" was a common way to refer to a "bad guy" at Milton.

28.   This talk came just days following the Sandy Hook school shooting.

29.   One way schools cultivate militarism is by "presenting an unbalanced, even false picture of war" (Yarwood and Weaver 1988, 91).

30.   Varney 2000, 385.

31.   Johnson 2009, 589, emphasis added.

32. Johnson 2009, 589.

33. "Military values and ideals," after all, "influence the ways masculinity is produced" and how "military and masculinity define one another and are bound up in a symbiotic relationship" (Johnson 2009, 581–82).

34. Higate and Hopton 2004, 434.

35. For more on the construction of Black masculinity, please refer to Ferguson (2001), Noguera (2003), and Wallace (2002).

36. Cowen and Siciliano 2011b, 1529.

37. Bartlett and Lutz 1998; Cowen and Siciliano 2011b.

38. This is not to erase women, including transgender women, who constitute the fastest-growing group of incarcerated people. Though people across race commit crimes at the same rate, Black and Latino women and girls, queer and transgender youth, and students with disabilities experience higher rates of school punishment, referrals to the juvenile justice system, and incarceration (Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda 2015; Hing 2014).

39. Belkin 2012, 3–6.

40. Cowen and Siciliano 2011b, 1521.

41. Cowen and Siciliano 2011b, 1521.

42. Only male-identified students responded to this question.

43. Before boarding the school bus en route to the State Police Academy, one student mentioned that he had brought his gun license in the hope of using the academy's firing range. Other students shared that they had previously participated in police ride-alongs.

44. Though later disproven, at the time of this activity, it was widely circulated in the media that the radio devices used by emergency response teams triggered a second wave of bombs at the 2013 Boston Marathon.

45. Hockey 2013, 99.

46. Mr. Bristol was a Homeland Security teacher from another, nearby school district who participated in these simulations as part of his own professional development.

47. For more on gender and the military, please consult Belkin (2012), Clough and Willse (2011), Enloe (1993; 2000), and Johnson (2009).

48. For more on the embodiment of war, please refer to Hockey (2013), MacLeish (2013; 2014), and McSorley (2013). For more on the militarized regulations of people's affects, please see Masco (2014), Massumi (2010), and Orr (2004).

49. Saltman 2000.

50. Stampnitzky 2013, 84.

51. Goodman and Saltman 2002, 9.

52. Dewey 1990.

53. Aptheker 1997.

54. For more on transformative and decolonizing pedagogies, please refer to Alexander (2005), Antrop-González (2011), Balzer (2008), Chatterjee and Maira (2014), Giroux (1981; 1988; 2001b), Ladson-Billings (1994; 1995), Mohanty (2003), Morrell and Noguera (2011), Morrell (2008), Nagd, Gurin, and Lopez (2003), and Sanchez-Casal and MacDonald (2002).

55. Nagd, Gurin, and Lopez 2003, 167.

56. Puar 2009, 162.

5. Student, Terrorist, or Patriot?

1. Jackie Orr (2004, 467) offers that civil defense education served as a project in the management of fear, "avoiding the dangers of its excess (the chaos of panic), or

its absence (the unpreparedness of apathy)." Milton's Homeland Security program mirrored these efforts to manage fear, affirming that "national security IS national fear" (467). This book recognizes how Cold War civil defense efforts, nuclear panics, and fearful energies inform current counterterrorism politics, practices, and performances. For more information on civil defense education and Cold War fears, please refer to Farish (2007), McEnaney (2000), and Oakes (1994).

2. Bush 2001a.

3. Isin 2004.

4. For more on how the United States governs through fear and insecurity, please see Cowen and Gilbert (2008).

5. Isin 2004, 229.

6. Isin 2004, 229.

7. Isin 2004, 223.

8. Although Isin (2004, 223) contends that the bionic citizen stands in a "tension-filled relationship" with the neurotic citizen, he often dichotomizes the rational and the neurotic. I take the bionic and neurotic—rationalities and affects—to be two parts of a citizen-subject.

9. Bush 2001a.

10. Isin 2004.

11. Isin 2004, 227.

12. Campbell 1992, 2.

13. Campbell 1992.

14. Diaz 2013.

15. Campbell 1992, 2.

16. In making sense of danger, Campbell (1992, 4) refuses a "logic of explanation" that views the world as comprising objects "independent of ideas or beliefs." Instead, Campbell "embrace[s] a logic of interpretation that acknowledges the improbability of cataloguing, calculating, and specifying the 'real causes' [of danger], and concerns itself instead with considering the manifest political consequences of adopting one mode of representation over another" (4).

17. Ahmed 2004.

18. Ahmed 2004.

19. Pain and Smith 2008, 2.

20. Kupchik 2010.

21. Pain and Smith 2008, 7.

22. Pain and Smith 2008, 5.

23. Pain and Smith 2008, 14.

24. In this exchange, Derek used the vocabularies of the If You See Something, Say Something™ campaign. For more on this campaign, please visit http://www.dhs.gov /if-you-see-something-say-something%E2%84%A2-campaign.

25. Schneier 2013.

26. Ahmed 2004, 75.

27. Ahmed 2004, 69.

28. Said 1978, 57.

29. Said 1978, 43–44.

30. Gregory 2004, 16.

31. Said 1978, 42.

32. As a Department of Defense federal agency, the Corps works on a wide range of public works types of projects throughout the world, including building and maintaining the infrastructure needed for war and preparing for natural disasters.

Although a Department of Defense agency, the Corps enlists both military and civilian personnel. Mr. Dixon explained that some civilian engineers do work on the "green side," meaning the military. For more information, visit http://www.usace.army.mil /Home.aspx.

33. Bush 2001a.

34. Mr. Ross invited Ms. Day to the school with the understanding that she would discuss how she entered the national security field and what her daily work entailed. Ms. Day chose which experiences and stories to include in her presentation. The inclusion of John O'Neil's death was a strategic choice made by Ms. Day.

35. Ó Tuathail 2003, 859.

36. For more on wound culture, please see Berlant (2000) and Brown (1995).

37. Ahmed 2004, 58.

38. Cowen and Gilbert 2008, 56. For more on how violence is often done in the name of love, please refer to Ahmed (2004, 1).

39. Bush 2001a.

40. Butler 2004, 30.

41. Butler 2004, 30.

42. Eng 2002, 92.

43. For contestations of these histories, please refer to Alexander (2005), Antrop-González (2011), Balzer (2008), Chatterjee and Maira (2014), Loewen (1994; 2009), Mohanty (2003), Stone and Kuznick (2012), and Zinn (2003).

44. Gregory 2004, 10.

45. Operation Enduring Freedom is the official name of the U.S. global war on terror, which began with the October 7, 2001 military strikes in Afghanistan. The strategic naming of the global war on terror as Operation Enduring Freedom situated the war as a means to protect U.S. freedoms.

46. Lutz 2002, 57.

47. Gregory 2008.

48. Kilcullen 2010.

49. Ms. Perez asked Mr. Dixon twice if *Aladdin* took place in Afghanistan, using the Disney film as another reference used to imagine the country.

50. Masco 2014, 1.

51. Abu El-Haj 2010, 246.

52. Ahmed 2004, 74, emphasis original.

53. Packer 2001, para. 8.

54. Packer 2001, para. 8.

55. Ahmed 2004, 74.

56. Billig 1995.

57. Lipset 1996.

58. Billig 1995, 9.

59. Similarly, a local military organization asserted that "eighty percent of all cyber issues are triggered by a heedless action of a worker who hasn't been properly educated about cyber hygiene." This military organization implored community members that "good cyber hygiene" is the "new civic duty" required of "good" workers.

60. Abu El-Haj 2010, 243.

61. Altinay 2004, 68.

62. When a student said she would rather flee the country than fight in a war, Ms. Perez harshly pressed, "You wouldn't stay and fight?" Her comment left the student speechless, so Ms. Perez nervously laughed, exclaiming, "I'm just kidding!"

63. Ahmed 2000, 30.

64. Isin 2004, 228–29.
65. Gonzalez 2010, 49.
66. Pain et al. 2010, 980.
67. Isin 2004, 227.
68. Police trainer Bob Hastings used this statistic at the State Police Academy.
69. For more on these contradictions, please refer to Belkin (2012).
70. "Newtown" refers to Adam Lanza's December 2012 shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut. Lanza's victims included twenty first graders and six staff members.
71. Graham 2006, 261; also Katz 2007; 2011.
72. Katz 2006, 106.
73. Katz 2006, 110.
74. Katz 2006, 116.
75. Massaro and Mullaney 2011.
76. See, e.g., Giroux 2001a; Kupchik 2010; Monahan and Torres 2010; Noguera 2003; Robbins 2008.
77. Fuentes 2011, 35.
78. Fuentes 2011, 35.
79. Leonard 2013; Wise 2001.
80. For more on these vocabularies used to talk about school shooters, please refer to Anderson (2013), Chuck, Winter, and Angulo (2013), Leonard (2013), Lyon (2003), Mason and Zucchino (2013), Robbins (2008), and Wise (2001).
81. Leonard 2013, para. 13.
82. DiIulio 1995.
83. Massaro and Mullaney 2011, 597.
84. Fuentes 2011, 34.
85. Arendt 1951; Foucault 2003.
86. Graham 2010, xvi–xvii.
87. Graham 2010, xix.
88. Giroux 2001a; 2006; Katz 2011.
89. Cowen and Siciliano 2011a; 2011b.
90. Lyon 2003; Noguera 2003; Nolan 2011; Pugliese 2010.
91. Ahmed 2000, 31.
92. In the Facebook forum, commenters engaged each other as neurotic citizens, using their affective capacities, not objective risk assessments, to guide their demands for particular security measures. They called for hardening the checkpoint, requiring students to present IDs, and hiring more military police, without knowing, objectively, if these security procedures thwarted the threats the military base faced (Isin 2004).
93. Gilliom and Monahan 2012, 405–7.
94. Orr 2004.
95. Green 1995, 108.
96. Hockey 2013.
97. Taussig 1992, 11.

Conclusion

1. Masco 2014.
2. Enloe 2000, 3.
3. I am indebted to Ann Stoler's (2009) archival work that specifically sought to document ruptures in colonial commonsense. Reading this work in the field primed me to look for, and analyze, the subtle resistances to Milton's national security project.

4. Said 2003.

5. Perez 2006, 58.

6. Brigden and Vogt (2014, 318) argue that "young people, caught in perpetual economic disordering and re-ordering of a neoliberal economy, seek respect and solidarity through participation in violence, and in the case of soldiers, this quest is channeled into the service of a grateful 'nation.'"

7. Enloe 2000, 3.

8. See Alexander 2005; Antrop-González 2011; Balzer 2008; Chatterjee and Maira 2014; Giroux 1981; 1988; 2001b; Gutstein 2003; 2006; 2012; Ladson-Billings 1994; 1995; Loewen 2009; Macrine, McLaren, and Hill 2010; Mohanty 2003; Morrell and Noguera 2011; Morrell 2008; Nagd, Gurin, and Lopez 2003; Sanchez-Casal and MacDonald 2002.

9. See Alexander 2005; Apple 2011; Brown 2006; Fisher 2011; Freire 1970; 1998; Giroux 2002; Means 2013; Ravitch 2010; Saltman 2000.

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INDEX

NICOLE NGUYEN is assistant professor of social foundations of education at the University of Illinois–Chicago.